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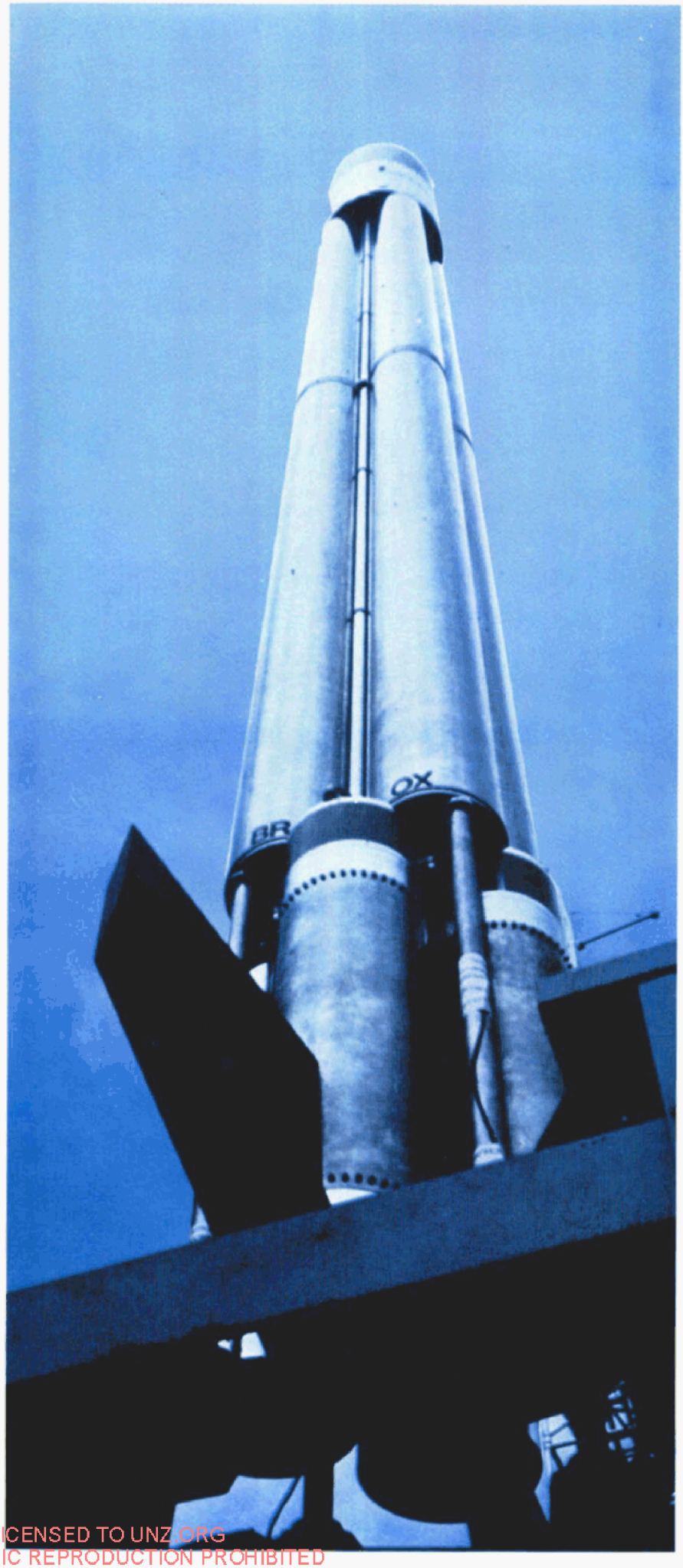

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FEATURES

AFRICAN DECEPTION
Missiles are being launched from Zaire—but press reports differ on who's launching them and why. Is it the launch organization or its detractors that is the real threat to peace?
By Robert Poole, Jr. **16**

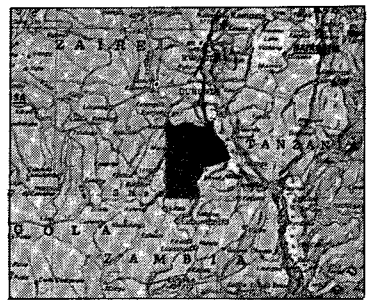
WHAT'S HAPPENING IN QUEBEC
Would an independent Quebec mean an increase in freedom? Or a turn toward increased statism? A Quebecer takes a hard look.
By Pierre Lemieux **24**

HOW SCIENCE SHOULD DEAL WITH PSEUDOSCIENCE
The scientific community has considered investigating the Bermuda Triangle, UFO's, and astrology to be beneath its dignity. But such a policy serves only the cause of irrationality.
By Armando Simon **28**

THE GREAT MONEY HOODWINK
Join President Jimmy Gunn as he learns how the Fed gets away with counterfeiting.
By Eric Way **31**

WASHINGTON LAUGHS AT THE WELFARE STATE
A play *about Britain's National Health Service? And it's a* comedy. *Not only that, it's a success!*
By John R. Coyne, Jr. **34**

A FEW GOOD CHILDREN'S BOOKS
You say you've finally gotten the kids away from the TV so they can learn to appreciate reading? But what are you going to give them to read?
By John McClaughry **37**



Propaganda war 16

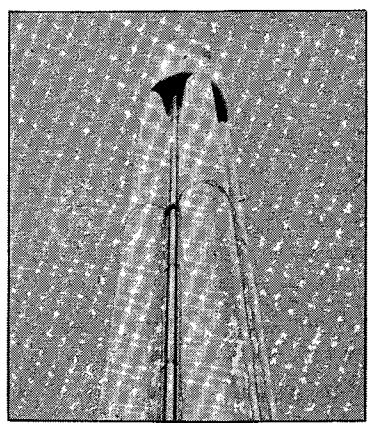
Quebec libre? 24

Laughing stock 34

DEPARTMENTS

EDITORIAL/Sex and Violence Revisited **6**
VIEWPOINT/On Tolerance and Humility **40**
TAXES/Maximizing Your Deductions **41**
SPOTLIGHT/Educator for Freedom **42**

LETTERS **4**
BRICKBATS **9**
TRENDS **11**
WASHINGTON WATCH **43**
MOVIES **44**
BOOKS **45**
FRONTLINES **48**
CLASSIFIEDS **49**



Basic OTRAG booster module on launch pad in Zaire (Photo courtesy OTRAG).

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letters

Imperial Valley, Revisited

Your Bill Birmingham [Brickbats, April] has mis-struck by not doing his homework. He accepts bureaucratic Dept. of Agriculture figures as to what is the size of the most productive farm in place of the actual market decisions. He implies that I implied that the successful farmers of Imperial Valley are Hardscrabble dirt farmers, thus misrepresenting them as poor underlings. He then "exposes" me by exposing the farmers as being the "usual swine" in danger of losing their fat public subsidies. Here he adds, in the usual leftist way, a new element of dishonesty: the claim that they get a water subsidy justifies the government forcing the farmers to sell their excess land. He accepts the concept of "excess land" as determined by the government, and he emphasizes *sell* as opposed to my emphasis on dispossession. However, sell at what price? With the water rights or without? At what price did the present owners buy? Obviously, they bought at the market price which included the water rights.

When my article was written, the Interior Secretary had ruled that the "excess acreage" was to be sold at lottery at a price not to include the value of the irrigation. That is straightforward dispossession. If the Interior Secretary has backed off since the time my article was written, it is dishonest for Birmingham to use subsequent rulings, which resulted from the sort of criticism I made, to argue that my original position was "uninformed."

I made a point of emphasizing that my defense of property rights should not be misconstrued as support for federally subsidized water. The subsidy, if it actually exists, can be ended without dispossessing the farmers from their land. This should be clear even to someone who is illiterate in economics. You just charge for the water. Then the market, as now, will determine the relative sizes of the farms. But first, you have to be sure that there is a subsidy in Imperial Valley and not just the performance of contractual obligations. Imperial Valley was exempted from the acreage limitations. They were already getting irrigation water from another canal that dipped through Mexico before returning to the United States prior to the construction of All American Canal from the Colorado River. The farmers agreed to support the "All American" project with the understanding that acreage limitations would not apply *because their farms were already there.* They turned in their existing water rights plus, I believe, $45 million paid to the federal government for their share in the new water system. I do not know if the farmers have fully paid off the $45 million or not. The point is that a deal was made which the farmers entered into in good faith decades ago.

Paul Craig Roberts
Alexandria, VA

Mr. Birmingham replies: Mr. Roberts says he "made a point of emphasizing" that "his defense of property rights should not be misconstrued as support for federally subsidized water." So he did. I reproduce his "point," with "emphasis," exactly as it appeared:

> (My defense of property rights should not be misconstrued as support for federally subsidized water.)

One sentence, in parentheses yet, does not qualify as a spirited assault on socialized irrigation.

As for the "bureaucratic USDA statistics": 1) UC Berkeley provided similar figures, and 2) Roberts should know that USDA statistics are used all the time in the profession. Anyway 3) if he doesn't like them, he can refute them.

As for the "alleged [sic] subsidy" it is derived as follows: Government water costs less than free market water. This is due not only to the use of tax money, but to the unrealistically low "discount rate" used to compute capital costs. (I learned about discount rates studying for my BA in economics, by the way.) The discounted future value of these savings accrues to the land owner, and capitalized amounts to about $1000 an acre in the Imperial Valley by the source I used, and to as much as $1500 an acre by others. (Again, if Roberts doesn't like these figures, he can refute them.) The Interior Department method of sale (of which I was quite aware) recovers that subsidy. Roberts isn't telling me anything I don't know by observing that a full-cost pricing policy for water would do the same thing. But that would also lower the market price of the land by the same amount, at the expense of those po' farmers who bought their monopoly privileges "in good faith." I wonder what Roberts would have said to the abolitionists of the 19th century, who

wanted to deprive the cotton farmers of the slaves they had bought "in good faith."—**B.B.**

Not "Back" to Land

It's unfortunate that there is so little knowledge of the purposes and ideals of those people who are a part of the "Back to the Land" movement. ["Back to the land: Environmental Suicide," March] When one closely studies the "movement" one realizes it is not "back to the land" at all but a new concept in environmental management that is very much *unlike* the old ways of the early settlers. There are ideas now being put into practice dealing with intensive crop raising on small acreages with a respect for the soil used—a method not employed by our wasteful early homesteaders. Indeed, such methods have rarely ever been used in this nation at all and are not as yet widespread. One reason being that the way of agri-business is primarily large-scale, not intensive. The problems of a large-scale, chemically fertilized monoculture (one main crop—corn, wheat, soybeans) being *fewer* bushels per acre and a less fertile, dead soil, prompted these new homesteaders to use different means for food production. They know and realize that the problems of the environment do exist and why they exist. They are not just talking about it in terms of the future, they are *doing* something about it *now.*

Industry and technology have caused a great deal of the environmental problems of not only this nation but also of the world. Our oceans are polluted by petrochemicals that will not break down. Needless to say, industry has dumped them there, thinking erroneously that the seas are an endless sewer. Cities have dumped sewage and industrial wastes into rivers and streams killing fish and other wildlife, making them unfit also for human consumption. Then government and health officials came to the "rescue" with chlorination (a product of technology). Now the AMA admits (finally) that such a substance is a carcinogen.

There are those among libertarians who will not support a system that tampers with man's nature, but endorse those who do all in their power to alter the processes of the globe. Doesn't it stand to reason that mankind should work in harmony with both instead of against them?

Kay L. Bream
Aspers, PA

IN MEMORIAM

Karl Bray died at 8:10 A.M. on May 7, 1978 in a Florida hospital after a long struggle with cancer. Born June 12, 1943 in Provo, Utah, Karl became the leading tax protestor of the 1970's. Although his formal training was in chemistry, his *pro se* legal battles with the IRS brought him acclaim throughout the United States. In 1972 he petitioned and received the first nationwide temporary restraining order against IRS surveillance methods. His further tax resistance eventually cost him a six-month term in federal prison. The author of numerous pamphlets on taxes and the IRS, he completed a book-length manuscript, *Taxes Are Revolting*, just prior to his death.

Karl Bray was buried in Provo, Utah. Contributions in his memory may be made to the Church of Moral Ethics, Box 674, Hermosa Beach, CA 90254. All funds will be used to defray some of the costs incurred by his long illness and to ensure that his library and papers remain intact for use by libertarian scholars and writers.

Homestead Benefits

Homesteading is not a utopian idea but it is the greatest way to discover your roots and to fulfill yourself. It is (my biased personal opinion) the best way to freedom. Mr. Dunn's article [March] has aptly shown the effect of back to the land; not a movement but a lack of thought brought on by the ignorance of education by hierarchies (i.e. governments, religions, corporations, majorities, edicts, rulers, chieftains, warlords, witchdoctors, universal opinions, and other professionals).

The past is clear; the future is even clearer. Pollution killed in the past. It kills now. Primitives used fire to destroy the land. Technologists use ten-gang moldboard plows, herbicides, and saline irrigation water in much the same fashion as fire to destroy life (or make it miserable) to aid "progress." Technology did not give us conservation. Wisdom did. Primitives moved on or died out. There is no place to go now. We save our soil because we want a future growth and profit. We plant two trees when we cut one down.

We efficiently use the local souces of energy (wood, solar, wind, geothermal, etc.) and local resources for building energy-efficient homes, climatically and solar oriented. We build now and for the future. We raise our own food because it is fresh, wholesome, and delicious. We enjoy assisting nature at this task. It does not involve all our waking hours as some would believe. We garden intensively so we have time to be creative and/or to relax. We invent our own recreation. We free ourselves as much as possible from

(*Continued on p. 7*)

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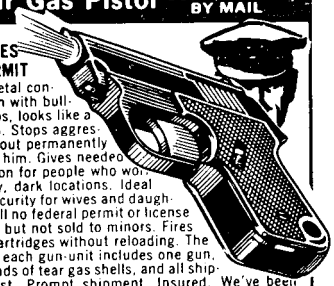

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Sex and Violence Revisited

editorial

Topics that interest the leaders and critics in our society are often merely fads. One is the current uproar over the prevalence of sex and violence on TV. Ever since Congress seized the electromagnetic spectrum in 1927, our political "representatives" could freely fret about and tinker with broadcasting. No doubt they would be doing the same about sex and violence on film and stage if they had a legal excuse for doing so. But they do possess the legal justification for dictating a good deal that goes on in the TV industry, programming not excluded.

Television is a legally maintained oligopolistic business. Three networks, with a few independent companies as their only serious competition, have a virtual lock on the broadcasting business. The Federal Communications Commission, with Congressional mandate, makes sure of their safety and security, for which they must pay by heeding political pressure and control. Anyone wishing to crack the field must pass the test of the FCC, which involves, for example, the requirement that new stations not deprive existing ones of their "audience share." Just think. A prospective broadcaster must prove to the FCC that his new station will not compete successfully, in order to be allowed to compete!

The three networks form a cartel that serves millions of viewers. It is not quite like most European and socialist bloc broadcasting, where government operates the airwaves directly, but it comes close enough; the FCC supervises, with frequent threatening moves from Congress to extend the control should broadcasters not heed vociferous critics in Congress and the body politic.

To sustain this artificial, frequently bizarre arrangement, some lowest common denominator in the "public taste," reminiscent of the content of political campaigns in any welfare state, must be found. This allows but a modicum of variety in program style, content, and quality, compared to the free market of the American book, magazine, and newspaper publishing business. (The Chinese and Russians, among others, have experience with these businesses similar to ours in broadcasting.) That it does not have to be this way has long been proven—e.g., the alleged absolute scarcity of television frequencies is just that, purely alleged, with no foundation in science and economics.

This situation and some acquaintance with the perennial themes of literature—poetry, drama, novels, and even opera—should indicate what the mainstream of broadcast entertainment must be: flat, fourth-rate, shallow renditions of the important themes of human imagination. For what does it mean to charge the industry—the writers, producers, actors, and directors of television entertainment—with offering a preponderance of sex and violence?

In one clear sense there is nothing unusual about such entertainment. There is hardly a worthwhile novel, play, poem, song, opera, or other artistic creation that fails to dwell on love and moral conflict. Sexuality is simply the correlate of the topic of romantic love, a theme surely not neglected by Aristophanes, Plato, Dante, Shakespeare, Hugo, Ibsen, Mann, O'Neil, and the hundreds of other great writers who have attended to the human situation. Of course, some have emphasized love's physical aspects in preference to its spiritual side—e.g. D. H. Lawrence. Others, like Plato, Dostoyevsky, and Ibsen, dwelt more on the spiritual dimensions of the subject. The same may be said of violence. Direct combat is frequent in the novel, the great plays of Shakespeare, and the numerous operas that have interfused moral and political conflict with their fiction.

No doubt I am in deep trouble for even mentioning these greats in connection with the sex and violence on television. But am I? What about the dime novels, the musicals, the comic operas and operettas and plays written by the less noted figures of human literary history? And is it not the case that with the greater and greater participation of the general public in the arts, there would develop, even without oligopolistic television broadcasting, a greater supply of simple, uncomplicated, even shallow treatments of the major themes of literature? Catering to the masses, as they say, is harmful only if it excludes the possibility of greatness. And what has prevented the development of commercially feasible, special-market-oriented quality television entertainment? Clearly the artificial centralization of the broadcast industry. (The illusion that Great Britain is superior in its overall television broadcast quality should by now have been destroyed. And what little quality programming has been imported from England shows clearly that sex and violence can be offered with the Queen's English, in which case foes of American commercial television prove to be snobs, not bona fide critics at all.)

Our politicians are clever, though. First they nationalize—forcibly seize—the spectrum and make it a carrier of grey, virtually uniform entertainment fare. While this suits a great number of people, the verbalists (at universities and at magazine and newspaper editorial offices) are squawking. So to please them, and to obtain even firmer control over the medium, they introduce public broadcasting, thereby forcing the already cheated taxpayer to fund the exclusive entertainment fare of the highfalutin among us. Not a bad trick!

The main point is this: Let's quit picking on commercial television's preoccupation with sex and violence. What there is of that on the air really isn't really different from what there has always been of it around the unsophisticated people of the world. Without TV the raw sex and brute violence that fascinates those not tutored in fine artistic renditions would be obtained in bawdy songs, humor, gossip, fantasy, dime novels, and all the other means by which human beings have managed to entertain themselves before television and before the current swarm of sociologists were let loose—at taxpayer's expense—to study and propose clever curatives for what ails us now and has ailed us always, simple and complex, noble and base imagination. Children, too, will find sex and violence anywhere.

Anyway, sex is good; it is just that it can be treated well or ill, which in its simplistic ways television manages to do in about equal proportions. Violence itself is a mere outcome of severe conflict among human beings, made more or less meaningful, given better or worse expression and slant in all the art forms, including television's shallow version. I am convinced that there is far more to complain about concerning the verbal violence of all current drama, the moral relativism of the rest of the literary forms, and the socialization of morality (whereby our scriptwriters can think only one kind of evil, hurting others, and one kind of good, helping others, never mind one's own soul and the quality of those to whom one may extend help).

But never mind. Even if one chooses to beef about the prevalence of sex and violence in the entertainment and literary worlds, perhaps the best remedy is to write a good book, or, better even, a television screenplay, and put it on the air. But to do this one needs to break up the government maintained oligopoly, which is what makes diversity—one essential condition of the creation of excellence—impossible in today's television.

Tibor R. Machan

letters

(Continued from p. 5)

the rhythms of society and become entwined with the rhythm of life. We barter among neighbors, and through small local industry and services make our "profit." We control our lives. We have gone *forward* to the land. We have taken marginal land and made it four times more productive than large scale agribusiness methods on half or less the energy output for fertile land. We have no waste to dispose of. Waste is what is thrown away. Everything on the homestead is recycled to where it came and we profit by it.

Long after the present government, hi-tech industrial complex is gone, the phoenix to rise up out of the ashes will come from us common people—the peasants who've stored a few gold coins and pieces of silver, who've mastered the art of survival and enjoy the life that emanates from it. We will set the example by cooperating with life, replacing what we take. By this positive environmentalism of the lowly homesteader will Mr. Dunn's professionals have their come-uppance.

Vertis M. Bream
Aspers, PA

Mr. Dunn replies: The idyllic life which Vertis Bream suggests that we emulate is remarkably like the life which our own ancestors lived here in the United States and which almost all of the people of the less developed nations now have. The major difference appears to be that the Breams have the benefit of modern horticultural technology (that despised word) which has shown them how to supply proper nutrients by various rather sophisticated "natural" techniques.

One of the major problems with going back to the land appears to be energy. Getting energy only from wood is obviously out of the question, because there is not enough of it even for heating our homes and for cooking. The Breams suggest that solar, wind and geothermal power are also acceptable energy alternatives. The first two energy forms require relatively large amounts of other resources such as wood, metals, glass, plastics, or crushed stone (and do not forget money). If one does not believe these resource problems are real, try to apply the solar and wind alternatives on a significant scale to the many countries of the world where the purchase by a family of even a simple solar cooker is a financial impossibility. So far as geothermal energy is concerned, the *potential* in the United States is certainly large; however, the latest summary figures I have from the US Geological Survey (1975) start with the words "Disregarding cost."

It appears to me that to support a general back-to-the-land movement would require that many people still dig coal or uranium or work in oil refineries to supply energy while others would have to see that it is transported in some manner. One should also realize that the homesteaders would have to make enough money to buy it.

Finally, as a practical matter, the homesteader concept may be a little hard to sell to the world's poor who would still like to try the "luxury bit"—such luxuries that is, as having three meals a day or having the resources to build a windmill, a solar cooker, or a geothermal power plant. Or the ultimate of all luxuries: that of having a choice of lifestyles.—**J.R.D.**

Double Effect

Re Dr. Block's article on abortion: His rather twisted reasoning seems to miss one essential point, mainly, that the abortion (removal) is *exactly* what kills the unborn child. He is apparently trying to use the Catholic doctrine of the double effect (where unintended results occur from a morally neutral act). To try to apply it in the case of abortion is the same as saying

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one does not kill someone if he shoots him because all the actor does is pull a trigger, and one cannot be responsible for what happens to the bullet after that. I can understand why Dr. Block has attempted to justify abortion, but his argument fails to do so.

Vincent P. Lewis
Hopewell Jct., NY

Equivocation

No one argues that a human fetus is *not* human. It is clearly a being, and thus a human being. It is also alive. Over these simple, uncontested facts, Karl Pflock waves the magic wand of Fallacy and pronounces the human fetus a member of the human race, a unique individual, a human life, and thus, a person.

By "a member of the human race" we ordinarily mean "person." But Pflock trades, perhaps unwittingly, on this meaning and the stricter, zoological meaning "belongs to the category 'human' rather than, say, feline." This latter meaning does *not* imply person. So Pflock equivocates and begs the question. Unsound and unfair.

Similarly, he claims that a fetus is a "unique individual" which ordinarily means "a person," but it emerges later, a la Professor Johnson's quote, that a unique individual is one that is not a part of its mother. But in *this* sense a feline fetus is also a unique individual. Another equivocation. Virtually the same game is played with the expression "human life."

So, from Pflock's article we get three rather fine examples of equivocation, and an excellent demonstration of question-begging thrown in for good measure. My logic students would find this article fertile (fertilized?) ground for digging.

James E. Chesher
Santa Barbara, CA

Women as Experts

Abortion and rape are two issues which affect women directly and uniquely in a way that does not apply to men. Though it is not necessarily inappropriate for men to write on these subjects, the first and foremost experts must, of psychological necessity, be women. Therefore, for REASON to publish three articles on abortion, *all* by men, shows an appalling insensitivity that is an insult to women.

To add injury to insult, none of the three male writers are in any way experts or even activists involved with this issue. To our knowledge, only one—Tibor Machan—has even so much as written publicly on the subject before—and that only in a limited way. (Block's prior article in the *Libertarian Forum* is almost identical to the one in REASON and only slightly predates it.) But abortion is at least as serious and complicated as other social issues and deserves to be dealt with *properly* in a major libertarian publication. Libertarians who are thoroughly familiar with the medical and moral arguments, who have been actively involved and have written extensively on the issue could speak far more appropriately and properly on abortion than these men. For example, there is Cindy Cisler of New Yorkers for Abortion Law Repeal, one of the most prominent pro-abortion activists in the country. On the anti-abortion side, there is Doris Gordon of Libertarians for Life who, though less experienced than Cisler, has certainly been diligent and involved.

But neither Cisler nor Gordon was asked to write. In fact, in response to our query, Machan informed the Association of Libertarian Feminists that the editors of REASON did not think to ask a woman or *any* expert to write on this issue.

Furthermore, on balance, these three articles are not representative of the majority of libertarian opinion. *Two* of the articles are anti-choice on abortion even though most libertarians are pro-choice. (Block's argument is *fundamentally* anti-abortion and anti-choice.) Even Machan's pro-choice argument, while making good points, is not the kind of argument that most pro-choice advocates, especially women, would use.

For those reasons, the Association of Libertarian Feminists wishes to formally protest the poor judgment and insulting insensitivity shown by the editors of REASON on this serious issue. ALF also calls for a response by appropriate libertarian women in a future issue of REASON.

Sharon Presley
National Coordinator
Tonie Nathan
President
Lynn Kinsky
Vice President
Robert Cooke
Secretary
Sieglinde Kress
Treasurer

The editor replies: I am appalled by this and several similar letters we have received on the abortion articles. The idea that an accurate understanding of the *morality* of abortion (which was, of course, the subject under discussion) depends on psychological factors which only women can understand is ludicrous. It would be relevant to certain other kinds of discussions about abortion, but *not* to a discussion seeking to establish facts, in order to arrive at a correct moral position.

When REASON set out to produce the abortion feature, the sex of the possible contributors never even occurred to us. It seems especially ironic that we stand accused by *feminists*, whose principal concern we have assumed to be fair and equal treatment of all people—regardless of sex. To be faulted for having acted precisely in this non-sexist manner is, to say the least, distressing.

In point of fact, Doris Gordon was consulted about the proposed articles. I met with her and contributing editor Karl Pflock last September at the Libertarian Social Club of DC dinner, at which time it was agreed that she would work with Pflock to be sure that the views of Libertarians for Life were available to him as he prepared his article. The principal reason Gordon was not asked to do the "pro-life" article was that Pflock—a contributing editor—had already volunteered to do it. We had not heard of Cisler until receipt of the above letter. We *had* heard of Block's views and thought his approach to the complex moral issues involved was uniquely thought-provoking.

As for the "balance" among the three articles, our aim was to stimulate thought and discussion on this very difficult issue—not to ratify any sort of existing status-quo consensus. I am quite pleased with the three articles for doing this, rather than simply repeating established ideas as dogma.—**R.P.**

Reason for Hope?

Congratulations on carrying in full Edith Efron's comments on recent trends in the libertarian movement [February]. I am not competent to judge all the details in her article, but the main thrust of it is resoundingly right and slashingly insightful. Once again, a libertarian speaks in the tradition of Ayn Rand and Rose Wilder Lane—words all the more valuable because such sentiments have not been heard much in recent years during which the Libertarian Party has been courting its enemies and alienating its friends. Those of us who saw what was happening to the Libertarian Party were answered with barrages of vilification and slander. But hope springs eternal. Perhaps, after Edith's article, there is still some reason for having it.

John Hospers
Los Angeles, CA

Efron Is Right

Ho boy. It looks like Efron's gone and

done it again. Way back in 1971 she had the effrontery to point out the ultra-bias on network television—something anyone out there in the hinterlands could easily have pointed out. But, predictably, the media powers were outraged.

Now shes gone and ripped it with her deadly perfect aim in the February REASON. Oh, she won't get away with it, that's for sure: I predict a deluge of outraged missives from the fashionable America-hating faction. So, since all that's necessary for the dummies to triumph is for good people to remain silent, I'll have to stick my neck out there too: Efron is right.

This isn't the first it's struck me: I've been wondering over the last year or so why it seems that libertarianism has become just as anti-American as the bosses on the Left. If one dares pronouce a limited government sentiment, you find yourself being shouted down with a variety of invective, from "fascist" to "old fashioned hard-liner." We *have* been taken over somewhere along the way, and no one before Efron has opened their mouth a peep. It wouldn't be socially acceptable, you understand.

No, not everything she wrote was correct. Many of us prefer to live our lives as "hippies." That doesn't mean we don't get things done. It doesn't mean we aren't dynamic and epistemologically solid. What it does mean is we prefer to live our lives the way we see fit, rather than the socially and politically "correct" way.

But that's quibbling. Edith Efron is fundamentally right in her assertion that we libertarians have rushed to jump in bed with the Left, choosing to ignore its authoritarian pimples, state-worshipping warts, and worse. This has probably come about for two basic reasons.

First, libertarians have suffered so much for so many years as "outs" that we've come to crave some kind of acceptance. With a few shifts here and there—such as denouncing evil "Amerika"—and soft-pedaling our most fundamental beliefs (individualism, capitalism, merit), we've come to find that we're at least tolerated in the halls of the trendy Left. Very nice feeling, that.

Secondly, we seem to have fallen prey to that process which affects virtually all movements: the more radical segments always seem to take the center stage. This may be because this super-media age always rewards the squeaky ideological wheel... no matter how wrong. After all, that's where the *story* is.

So the women's movement changes from an all-embracing human liberation movement to something hostile to anyone not toeing the current feminist party line. The civil rights movement of the '50's, becomes the bad-ass nigger movement of the '60's, and manages to actually ***harm*** the concept of equal treatment before the law.

And the libertarian movement turns away from championing its most fundamental precepts... in favor of an oleaginous, soft-pedaled goo that makes a fetish of left-wing and media acceptance. How strange.

Even Karl Hess, from way out there on the left feather, notes one of the "gravest weaknesses" of the Left is its thoughtless and automatic anti-Americanism. And we've turned away from Friedman and Rand for *that?* Come now....

In exposing how we've let ourselves be snaked into bed with the Left, Efron has done what Tom Wolfe makes a career of. He too gasps in stupefaction upon hearing a description of this society as tingly dangerous and fascistic, the secret police poised to break down the door any second, the cattle prod clubs at the ready.

Well, she's decided not to sit and listen to the bullshit anymore. And I am with her. Will there be a great upheaval of support for her now? Not a chance, for she

(*Continued on p. 49*)

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brickbats

☐ **Vivien Kellems, the tax rebel,** owned a cable-grip factory in Connecticut. One day she decided that it was unconstitutional for the IRS to make her withhold taxes from her employees' salaries—"involuntary servitude," you know—so she stopped doing it. She also stopped paying her own taxes, and when she died in 1975 at the age of 78 Ms. Kellems had successfully defied the revenooers for nine years. Now a Connecticut probate court reports that state and federal income tax claims of $816,947.97 have been paid out of her estate: which figure represents every cent of her taxes since 1966, all the late penalties and interest on them both. IRS, it would appear, stands for Inhumation Robbing Scum. And a happy Independence Day to you.

☐ **By now everybody knows about** the National Socialist Party of America and its intention to march, in uniform, through the predominantly Jewish Chicago suburb of Skokie, Illinois. The ACLU claims it lost 20 percent of its membership over its decision to support the Nazis' right to march. and even such normally sober men as columnist George Will have taken to chewing the rug, and gibbering about an imminent Brownshirt Menace. According to the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai Brith, which keeps track of such things, the NSPA has no more than 20 members. Its recruiting difficulties may stem from charges that the Party's Fuehrer, one Frank Collins, has a Jewish father—for which failing he was expelled from the larger National Socialist White People's Party. The NSWPP has less than 100 "hard-core members," says the ADL, and the FBI no longer bothers to spy on it. *Its* Fuehrer is Matt Koehl, heir to the late George Lincoln Rockwell's mantle. From such an eminence Koehl can afford to disdain the upstart Collins, and to dismiss his Skokie march as "nothing but cheap Jew-baiting." As the ADL estimates some 500 "official supporters" of the NSWPP contribute "at least" five dollars each and every month, Koehl can well afford expensive Jew-baiting.

☐ **In The Christian Science Monitor** (March 3, 1978) Rep. Les Aspin (D-Wisc.) examines the proposed SALT II arms limitation agreement. Without the treaty, says Aspin, "The Russians could easily end up with half again as many missiles and bombers as the United States by 1985.... This is because the Russians have a surfeit of nuclear programs under way or in research while the US has only a relative handful that could be in place by 1985." For example, the United States now has 83 percent as many "strategic launchers" (bombers and missiles) as the Soviets; under SALT this could increase to 91 percent by 1985. But it could fall to 68 percent without the treaty's limits on the number of Soviet strategic launchers. Similarly, the American superiority of 2.4 to 1 in nuclear warheads could be reduced to 1.29 to 1 by 1985 with SALT. But without SALT II's restrictions on the number of missiles that can carry multiple warheads, the United States would end up with only 93 percent as many nuclear warheads as the Soviets. Not that that seems likely; if SALT II isn't ratified the Pentagon would surely redouble its arms procurement. The Senate Budget Committee predicts $100 billion in additional defense spending over the next 15 years if the treaty fails.

☐ **It's always fun to watch** a sacred cow get barbecued, especially when it's the FBI that's getting roasted. Former Acting Director L. Patrick Gray (of Watergate burn-bag fame) and two lesser panjandara are under indictment for "conspiracy to deprive Americans of their civil rights"; to wit, setting FBI agents to burglarizing the homes of eight people who were unlucky enough to be the friends or relatives of members of the Weather Underground. It's the "first time that either a director of the FBI or a former Bureau executive has been charged with a criminal act," says the *New York Times*, and high time too. And hopefully it won't be the last; already one J. Wallace LaPrade, assistant director of the FBI's New York office, has charged that the Carter administration is still committing such "warantless investigations" (as they are called). There was a time when some feared that Mr. Peanut would restore confidence in government.

☐ **Absolutely the Last Word on The Canal Treaties:** The Senators who voted for the first treaty faced an intensive campaign to get them to switch on the second. So it was that Sen. Edward Zorinsky (D-Neb.) found a half-page ad in an Omaha newspaper accusing him of "ignoring" his constituents by voting aye. There was one small mistake, however; Zorinsky actually voted against the treaty. The ad's sponsors, The Committee of Tax Weary and Concerned Citizens (of Houston, Texas) apologized, and ran another ad in retraction. Said Zorinsky, "Only in American could I have $2808 in free advertising that spells my name correctly" .... And when someone asked treaty opponent Sen. Paul Laxalt (R-Nev.) how he would feel if a foreign power controlled a 10-mile wide strip of land through Nevada, Laxalt replied that the federal government owns 87 percent of Nevada and he thought that was pretty much the same thing; for which sentiment Mr. Laxalt deserves a plenary indulgence for all his past sins.

☐ **As part of "Operation Commonsense,"** HEW's attack on excess paperwork, a regulation on HEW's "runaway youth program" was rewritten; cutting it, boasts HEW Secretary Califano, "from 22 inches of impenetrable prose in the Federal Register to less than three inches." This and other triumphs over superfluous verbiage were revealed at the special press conference, which was announced with three press releases totaling 31 pages.

☐ **Fans of Dr. Ivan Illich** who fear the *Medical Nemesis* can still resort to a time-tested cure: leeches. Mr. Harvey Snitman of Chicago operates "the only retail outlet in the country for live leeches." He sells from 500 to 600 a year at $6.00 apiece. The leeches, by the way, "come from a London supplier, who imports them from Russia, Poland and Hungary."

☐ **Horace Mann, thou shouldst be living at this hour!** According to the campus police, 90 percent of the crimes at Westfield State College, Massachusetts, are committed by students majoring in criminal justice.

Bill Birmingham

If the grown son of a devoutly Jewish father has a ham sandwich and a glass of milk for lunch, the father cannot use the police power of American society to impose his moral views on his son. But if the grown son of a devoutly alcoholic father has heroin for lunch the father can, indeed, use the police power of American society to impose his moral views. Moreover, the penalty which that father could legally visit on his son might exceed the penalty that would be imposed on the son for killing his mother.

Thomas S. Szasz

trends

British Retreat from Socialism

Change has come to the British Labor Party, once the Western world's leading force for socialism. The party that inspired the social-democratic left in Australia, Canada, New Zealand, and much of the Third World is backing off from the tenets of socialism and shifting to the political center. Two factors account for this shift; the disaffection of the workers and the defection of a number of intellectuals.

In 1974, as part of its attack on inflation, the Labor government lowered to zero the income threshold for payment of income taxes. This change added hundreds of thousands of low-paid workers to the tax rolls from the first time. Public opinion polls now show that becoming taxpayers has caused a profound change in attitudes among these people. A majority of British workers now disagrees with the policies of nationalization and egalitarianism which have been the core of Labor Party policy. Essex University's widely respected British Election Study confirmed this momentous change and concluded: "It is difficult to conceive of a party avoiding a long-term electoral decline if the majority of its surviving supporters reject the majority of its basic policies."

Prime Minister James Callaghan has apparently reached the same conclusion. In the past year he has orchestrated the defeat of the party's left wing on such issues as nationalization of banks and insurance companies. He has instead cut back welfare state benefits, given priority to fighting inflation rather than unemployment, and insisted that the profit motive is an essential factor in rebuilding Britain's obsolescent industry.

In the meantime, the Labor Party's intellectual base is being eroded by the defection of former socialists. Among them is Paul Johnson, former editor of the socialist *New Statesman*. In his 4500-word resignation statement, Johnson wrote that Labor has become a "collectivist party" run by "union bosses, few of whom have ever believed in liberty and democracy." Rather, their aim is "to crowd everyone into a giant firm," the end result of which could be "Auschwitz and Gulag." Similarly, former ambassador to the United States Peter Jay charged recently that Labor has "legalized the closed shop...opening the road to the corporate state of Mussolini...Hitler... Franco and Communist despots." Underlying the authoritarian trend is the kind of politics encouraged by unlimited democracy: "...the essence of democratic politics is a gigantic celebration of the fact that you can get something for nothing, or at least that you—the individual voter—can get something for nothing...for government, with its legalized power of coercion, can award benefits here while it charges costs there....In other words, democracy has itself by the tail and is eating itself up fast."

The shift away from socialism in Great Britain is an encouraging sign. As Daniel Moynihan has pointed out, it was British Fabianism that inspired socialist policies throughout the former British empire. It's not too much to hope that the rejection of socialism in Britain will inspire like action elsewhere.

SOURCES:

• "Changing British Attitudes Weaken the Far Left," John E. Pluenneke, *Business Week*, April 17, 1978, p. 61.

Why doesn't 'no growth' apply to government?

The list of "no growth" or "limited growth" restrictions on private development continues to expand and includes EPA's air and water quality controls, floodplain management regulations, coastal zone management controls, and the latest proposal for a National Balanced Growth and Economic Development Policy.

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AREA, the Association for Rational Environmental Alternatives, is a group of professionals and concerned individuals who are dedicated to private and nongovernmental solutions to urban and environmental problems. To join, or for more information on how "no growth" can be applied to government, send your name and address to:

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AREA

• "The Intellectuals Turn from Socialism," Allan C. Brownfeld, *The Register*, March 24, 1978.

Zoning Questioned

Once seen as the panacea for solving urban problems, strict government zoning regulations are increasingly coming into question. Some experts even see zoning laws as part of the problem rather than part of the solution to urban ills.

For example, Prof. George Sternlieb of Rutgers University completed a study last year of the rising cost of housing. Among his findings Sternlieb identified zoning and building code restrictions as accounting for 16 percent of the cost of a $50,000 house. Sternlieb rightly questioned whether such costs could possibly be justified by any benefits due to these regulations.

Zoning also tends to prevent or retard redevelopment efforts, says Martin Swartzman, president of New York's Glenwood Management Corporation, which builds high-rise apartment buildings. Swartzman told UPI that New York City's strict zoning laws have prevented much of the Bronx and Brooklyn from being rehabilitated—hundreds of blocks of buildings have simply been torn down to save on taxes. Swartzman blames part of the growth of zoning regulations on the federal government, which has made millions available to cities to hire planners. Zoning seems to follow Parkinson's Law—the regulations expand to use up the time and efforts of the number of planners who are hired.

The success of Houston in solving land-use problems without zoning (see "Houston Defies the Planners—And Thrives," REASON, February 1978) has finally begun to be noticed. The Grand Junction, Colorado *Daily Sentinal* last fall praised Houston's approach, noting that zoning "too often represents middle class planners' ideas of the good society and ignores poor and blue collar people's needs." The paper's editorialist then ticked off the benefits of nonzoning in permitting the marketplace to foster redevelopment, while keeping costs low.

Still, many skeptics just cannot believe that Houston's approach actually prevents or resolves land-use conflicts. They would do well to read a 1976 study of this subject by the Houston Planning Department. Replete with examples and statistics, the report identifies the (relatively small number of) land-use conflicts that do occur, and shows how Houston's methods (nuisance laws and private deed restrictions, enforceable in the courts) deal with them. It's an eye-opening example of how to solve problems with a minimum of cost and bureaucracy—and a maximum of individual freedom.

SOURCES:
• "Is All Zoning Necessary?" LeRoy Pope, UPI (New York), Nov. 6, 1977.
• *A Study of Land Use Conflicts in Houston*, Houston City Planning Department, Sept. 1976.

Medical Costs—and Competition

Why are health care costs—especially doctors' fees—so high and continuing to rise? From 1950 through 1976 physicians' fees have increased 75 percent faster per year than prices for other goods and services, according to the Council on Wage and Price Stability (COWPS). The reasons are complex, but in one form or another most of them have to do with government.

During the 1950's and early 1960's, contends COWPS, most of the increase was due to anti-competitive practices of organized medicine, usually backed up by force of law (licensure laws and other state regulations administered by physican-controlled boards). Such practices included restricting medical school enrollments to limit the supply of doctors and inhibiting price competition and prepaid group practice. These restrictions have been weakened in the past decade. Today the largest influences keeping fees high are (1) the rise in government funding of health care via Medicare and Medicaid, thereby stimulating a large increase in demand, and (2) the "cost-plus" approach of most medical insurance, especially Blue Cross/Blue Shield plans, many of which are controlled by doctors. As a result, physicians' fees have been largely "exempted...from the usually restraining effects of market forces that exist for most other consumer products and services."

The COWPS report makes no recommendations on how to restore market forces. One approach would be for the government to stop stimulating demand by subsidizing health care, while simultaneously removing all restrictions on the ways in which medicine may be taught, practiced, and marketed. Minor steps toward the latter objective continue to occur. The California Medical Association has voted to allow doctors to engage in limited advertising (including fee listings) and to accept credit cards. It has also signed a consent agreement with the Federal Trade Commission to stop preparing and distributing suggested fee schedules for various operations.

Another welcome marketplace approach has been developed by privately owned Sunrise Hospital in Las Vegas. The 484-bed hospital found that most of its expensive equipment lay idle on weekends, despite being overworked during the week. This inefficiency led to higher costs. Reacting like a rational business, the hospital has begun running newspaper ads encouraging elective surgery on weekends—and offering a chance to win a $4000 vacation as an inducement. In the year that the campaign has been in effect, weekend admissions have increased by 60 percent. If more hospitals were run as businesses instead of as "public services," we'd have fewer problems of over- and under-capacity and less of a rationale for bureaucratic health planning agencies. And costs would be lower.

SOURCES:
• "Doctors' Fees—Free from the Law of Supply and Demand," *Science*, April 7, 1978, p. 30.
• "Credit Card Billing, Fee Listing by Doctors OK'd," Harry Nelson, *Los Angeles Times*, March 22, 1978.
• "Come In for Surgery and Win a Vacation," AP (Las Vegas), April 5, 1978.

People Choose Gold

The new surge of interest in gold as an alternative to depreciating paper money has produced several interesting developments. Garnering much publicity was an announcement by singer Bette Midler's manager. For her British concert tour this fall, the "Divine Miss M" has arranged to be paid in gold bullion. Her manager was quoted as saying he believes all currencies are suspect these days and wants to make sure she doesn't take a loss six months from now.

Closer to home, Philadelphians who save at Lincoln Bank can now receive interest payments in gold. The bank's one-year savings certificates now carry the option of interest payments in gold coin or bullion. A saver depositing $3400 for one year, for example, earns six percent interest—$210.12. The bank will *prepay* one ounce of gold (worth $170-180 today) and pay the remaining interest in US currency at the end of the year.

For those who wish to shun paper money altogether, a Maryland man has begun issuing gold coin certificates. Lloyd Darland, a former quality control engineer and research analyst, is printing and issuing $20 notes, "redeemable in gold coin by bearer on demand." Darland told *Coin World* he has issued several thousand dollars worth of the notes—and has been asked to stop by the Secret Service. Last September SS officials told Darland they considered his activities illegal. He replied that he is not counterfeiting and has violated no law—and has not heard from them since.

SOURCES:
• "Gold Bars for Bette," AP (London), April 12, 1978.
• "Market Briefs," *Business Week*, May 1, 1978, p. 81.
• "Economist Circulates Gold Coin Certificate," *Coin World*, April 26, 1978, p. 28.

Taxing Realities

The grim realities of today's crushing level of taxation are receiving a new round of publicity. The last few months have seen a number of major articles dispelling popular illusions about the burden of federal income taxes.

Leading the way was REASON contributor Paul Craig Roberts, with a hard-hitting article in *Harper's*. Using figures from the Internal Revenue Service, as analyzed by the Tax Foundation, Roberts pointed out that taxpayers whose earnings are in the top 25 percent paid *72 percent* of all federal income taxes in 1975; the top 50 percent of earners paid *92.9 percent* of the tax revenue (which is to say that the lower 50 percent paid only 7.1 percent). As Roberts pointed out, "That's why the government likes to cut taxes for lower-income groups. It doesn't cost much to buy half the votes...."

Another way to understand these numbers is to look at particular income levels. Columnist Michael Novack found that in 1974 families earning over $50,000 a year made up just 1.1 percent of the population—yet they paid over 19 percent of federal income taxes. By 1976 (thanks to inflation) their numbers had grown to 1.4 percent but their share of taxes had increased to 23 percent.

One of the goals of "tax reformers" is to reduce the extent of tax deductions, which tend to be portrayed as loopholes for the rich. But, Roberts points out, the facts are otherwise. In the under-$10,000 adjusted gross income class, deductions amounted to *48.9 percent* of adjusted gross income. As we go up the scale, however, the percentage drops sharply. Those making between $10,000 and $24,999 deducted only 31.1 percent, while those over $25,000 could deduct only 22.8 percent. The wealthy person who pays no taxes due to massive deductions is a rare exception, not the general rule. It is low and middle-income taxpayers who benefit most from these "loopholes."

Another myth concerns the progressivity of the income tax system. We frequently hear it claimed that despite the fact that marginal tax rates rise with income, the wealthy end up paying a lower percentage than those of more modest incomes. Not so. The Tax Foundation reports that in 1976 the percentage of gross income paid in each tax bracket rose "progressively" as follows:

Under $5,000	0.2 percent
$ 5,000-10,000	5.5 percent
$ 10,000-15,000	9.0 percent
$ 15,000-20,000	11.2 percent
$ 20,000-30,000	13.8 percent
$ 30,000-50,000	17.6 percent
$ 50,000-100,000	24.4 percent
$100,000-200,000	29.5 percent

Income taxes are not the only tax burden, of course. *Reader's Digest* recently profiled the taxes paid by a middle-class family of four with a 1977 household income of $22,247. While their state and federal income taxes came to $3749—17 percent—the other taxes they paid during the year (property, Social Security, sales, gasoline, liquor, etc.) totaled another $3258, for a total burden of $7007—31.4 percent of their income. And this fails to include the taxes hidden in the prices of everything the family buys (taxes imposed on business and passed on in higher product prices).

Altogether, taxes now eat up 42 percent of the national income, compared with 33 percent in 1960 and only 12 percent in 1929. During the past decade alone the growth in taxes was 144 percent, compared with only 119.2 percent growth in national income. Much of the increase in tax take came about due to inflation—as people's dollar income increases, they move into higher tax brackets. In fact, as Roberts points out, the federal government's revenues rise by *1.65 times* the rate of inflation due to this effect. No wonder the government doesn't really do anything to halt inflation! Indexing the tax rates to correct for inflation would remove this

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pernicious incentive.

SOURCES:
- "Disguising the Tax Burden," Paul Craig Roberts, *Harper's*, March 1978, p. 32.
- "Income Belongs to Those Who Earn It," Michael Novack, *Washington Star*, April 10, 1978.
- "Those Who Make $30,000 or More Pay 39% of Taxes," AP (Washington), March 13, 1978.
- "What's Your Real Tax Bite?" Trevor Armbrister and Katharine Clark, *Reader's Digest*, April 1978, p. 35.

More Postal Competition

As postal rates continue to rise, more and more magazine publishers are turning to "alternate delivery systems." Some of the methods being tested by these companies demonstrate the vitality and creativity of private enterprise—and lead one to wonder why people persist in thinking that government must deliver the mail.

One alternative delivery concept is to piggyback on an existing delivery service. Some 765 daily newspapers operate delivery services that reach 90 percent of American homes. *Time* is currently testing this approach, with the *Racine* (Wisconsin) *Journal Times* and the *Louisville Courier Journal*. The *Journal Times* provides same-day delivery of magazines, compared with two or three days for the Postal Service. *Time* expects to be delivering 100,000 copies per week via newspaper carriers by the end of the year.

Another way to cut delivery costs is to sell advertising inserts in the plastic bags used to deliver the magazines. *Better Homes and Gardens* is testing this approach in Grand Rapids, Michigan. Its distributor there, Midwest Postal Systems, has set up a subsidiary called American Field Marketing (AFM) to obtain local advertisers who wish to reach *BH&G* readers. The magazine charges AFM 2¢ per household for each advertiser insert; AFM charges the magazines 10¢ per copy delivered—*minus* the charge for advertising. Thus, if AFM sold more than five ad inserts, *it* would have to pay *BH&G* for the privilege of delivering its magazines! (Actually, the agreement provides for a minimum net payment to AFM of one cent per copy.) *BH&G* is operating similar delivery systems with local firms in Atlanta, Kansas City, and Los Angeles, and plans to expand soon to Boston and San Diego.

Reader's Digest is the leading user of alternate delivery thus far, with about 200,000 copies per month being delivered in southern California. The *Wall Street Journal* ranks second, with 160,000 copies, about 12 percent of its subscriptions. The *Journal's* average delivery cost is 7¢, compared with 7.2¢ for mail delivery.

Recognizing the disadvantages of a national publisher having to deal with a multitude of local distributors, nine alternate delivery firms have joined together to form the National Association of Selective Distributors (NASD). During 1977 the number of zip codes served by NASD's members increased from 106 to 160, and is expected to reach 244 by next year. Thus, when second class mail costs double again by July 1979, a flourishing alternate delivery industry will be in place to take over a substantial amount of the business.

SOURCES:
- "Publisher's Notes," *Folio*, Feb. 1978, p. 6.
- "Circulation Prepares for Switch to Alternate Delivery Systems," *Ibid.*, March 1978, p. 13.

New Secessionists

The right of individuals or areas to secede from the United States was abolished by the Civil War, according to most historians. But don't tell that to the citizens of Kinney, Minnesota—or to Congressman Jim Collins of Texas. Both consider secession a viable means of escaping from overgovernment.

Last year officials of the 12-square-block town of Kinney applied for a $186,000 federal grant for its water and sewer system. The experience so overwhelmed them with red tape that they declared the town independent of the United States. The new Republic of Kinney, which began issuing passports in April, has as its official motto: "Filed in Triplicate." The motto appears on the republic's passports and on all official papers. According to Kinney attorney James Randall, application for passports must be made in person—there are no forms to fill out. The republic has also formed its own one-vessel navy, to patrol adjacent Lake Vermillion.

Texans, meanwhile, are pondering the proposal of Rep. Jim Collins, Republican from Dallas, to hold a referendum on independence. In a recent Congressional speech Collins suggested that it was time for Texans to follow the example of Panama and re-examine the treaty of 1845 by which Texas was annexed to the United States. From 1836 to 1845 Texas was an independent republic—and Collins thinks Texans might prefer to return to that status. He has written to President Carter asking that Secretary of State Vance appoint a team of diplomats to negotiate with Texas.

Writer Kevin Phillips would see these developments as further examples of the Balkanization of America. Others will dismiss them as gags. Still others may see in them an understandable groping for self-determination in a world growing ever more centralized and controlled.

SOURCES:
- "Minnesota Town Forms Navy," *San Diego Evening Tribune*, March 22, 1978.
- "Collins Brainstorm: Vote on Texas Treaty," *Austin American-Statesman*, April 14, 1978.

Tax Limit Progress

The idea of constitutional limits on state spending or taxing power (see "How to Draw the Line on Taxes," REASON, June, p. 47) appears to be gaining momentum. According to the National Tax-Limitation Committee, the New Jersey legislature has passed a resolution to limit taxation in that state, while the Illinois House has passed a constitutional amendment for the same purpose; the latter is now pending in the Illinois Senate. And, as reported here in May (Trends, p. 17), Tennessee voters have approved a constitutional amendment limiting state spending increases to the same percentage growth as the state's economy.

Can such measures actually restrain the tax bite? Initial indications from Colorado imply that they can. Last year the legislature there passed a law (not a constitutional amendment) limiting the growth of state spending to seven percent a year. (The state government *had* been growing at 15.8 percent a year during the previous decade!) The law provides that any revenue in excess of that rate of increase be returned to the taxpayers.

The legislature has just finished coping with its first state budget under the new law. To reduce tax collections to the level permitted, they have restructured 1978 tax rates to provide $101 million in tax relief. Of that amount, $35 million is being given to school districts so as to reduce local property taxes, and $66 million will take the form of direct cuts in state levies. Included in the tax reductions is a measure that increases deductions on state income tax returns by a percentage equal to the rate of inflation in the preceding year. This appears to be the first actual instance of indexation of tax rates to compensate for inflation.

SOURCES:
- Newsletter, National Tax-Limitation Committee, April 1978.
- "Spending Limit Yields Tax Cut in Colorado," AP (Denver), April 26, 1978.

Socialist Cruelty

Those who consider the death penalty to be cruel and unusual punishment ought to take a look at Cuba. The socialist paradise has just promulgated a new penal code—and it's a lulu. The code specifies the death penalty for piracy, hijacking, genocide, and terrorism—and for rape, robbery, violent pederasty with anyone

under 16, and sexual relations with a girl under 12. Seduction of a single girl under age 18 carries a nine-month jail sentence; so does any public display of homosexuality. Possession of marijuana can bring up to eight *years* in the cooler, as can gambling conducted for profit. It looks as if the western hemisphere has a new champion of repression: Fidel, the "liberator."

SOURCE:
• "Cuba's New Sex Laws," *Parade,* April 16, 1978.

Milestones

• *Credits Favored.* By a wide margin, the public prefers tuition tax credits to expanded federal education grants. The Gallup poll reports that 51 percent favor tax credits, compared with 38 percent supporting grants in aid. One wonders what the party of democracy will make of that. (Source: *Los Angeles Times,* April 19, 1978)

• *Free Speech.* Corporations, as "legal persons," may exercise a right of free speech. So ruled the US Supreme Court by a 5-4 vote. The decision struck down a Massachusetts law that prohibited a corporation from spending money in referendum campaigns unless the issue "materially affected" its business. The ruling opens to question laws in 30 other states that restrict the political activities of corporations. (Source: *Los Angeles Times,* April 27, 1978)

• *Bang... You're Dead.* A retired auto safety engineer has filed for a patent on a new type of execution device. The invention utilizes an automobile airbag. Emile P. Grenier, who once testified before Congress against the federal airbag requirement, recently retired from Ford Motor Company. His patent application points out that inflation of an airbag directly under a subject's head can bring to bear an instant force of 12,000 lbs., sufficient to snap the neck "far more effectively than the hangman's noose." His invention "takes advantage of this potentially lethal characteristic of the airbag." (Source: UPI [Ann Arbor], March 30, 1978)

• *Drug OK'd—At Last.* After considerable public pressure, the Food and Drug Administration has approved the sale of sodium valproate, the most effective known drug for use in treating epilepsy. Its legalization here is expected to prevent up to a million epileptic seizures per year. The drug has been in use overseas for years, but had been used here only in a few experimental cases, pending FDA approval. The delay in approval has been cited as an example of the "drug-lag" caused by the FDA's hyper-cautious approval policies. (Source: *National Review Bulletin,* April 21, 1978)

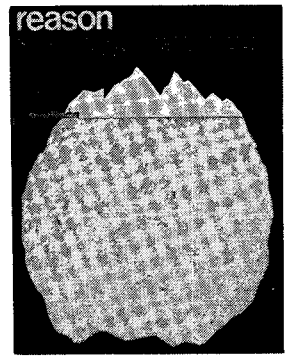
Updates

• The US Supreme Court has refused to review the conviction of Robert Black, the entrepreneur who challenged the constitutionality of the private express statutes by delivering first class mail in Pittsburgh, Kansas. (AP [Washington], March 27, 1978)

• The Louisiana Supreme Court, by a 4-3 vote, has reversed the ruling of a state district court which had overturned Louisiana's archaic "head and master" law. That law, which gives a wife no say in property decisions, now remains on the books. (AP [New Orleans], April 11, 1978)

• The Federal Communications Commission has decided to appeal the federal appeals court ruling that had overturned its "access regulations" on cable TV operators. The Supreme Court will now have to decide whether the regulations do indeed violate the stations' property and free speech rights, as the appeals court had determined. (*Wall Street Journal,* March 27, 1978)

Have You Seen...



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This issue features a wide-ranging interview with Victor Marchetti, author of *The CIA and the Cult of Intelligence*—the only book in US history to be censored prior to publication by the federal government. Also in the issue are Edith Efron's classic article "The Free Mind and the Free Market" and journalist Dennis Chase's discussion of "Foregrounding" the news. Plus Robert Poole on anti-technologists, David Brudnoy on busing, and much more.

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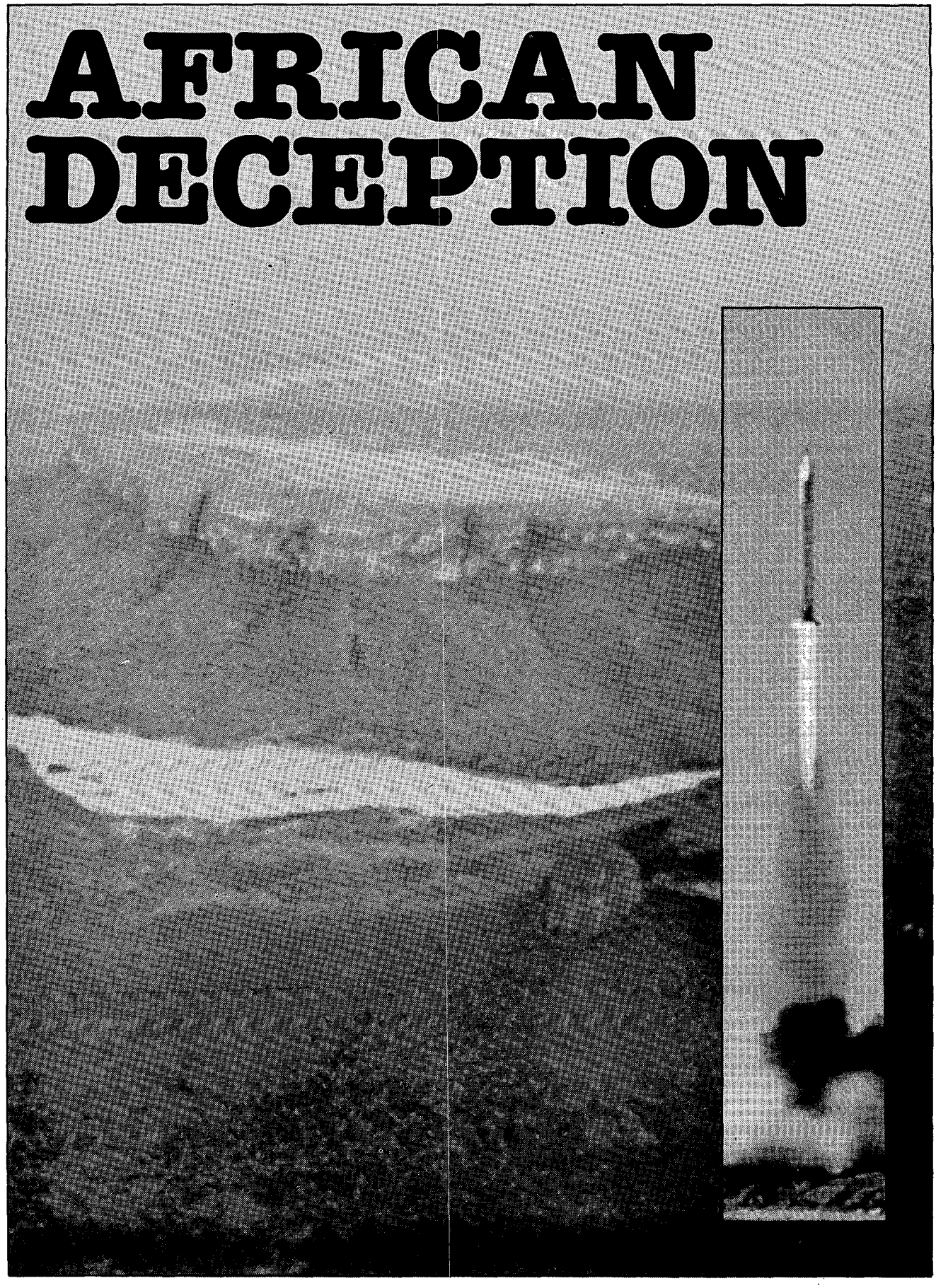
AFRICAN DECEPTION



A small German firm is launching rockets from Zaire. The world-wide campaign to discredit it is a fraud. Why it was done reveals some bizarre realities of international power politics.

by Robert Poole, Jr.

"Black" propaganda...refer[s] to the spreading of false information in order to influence people's opinions or actions. Disinformation actually is a special type of "black" propaganda which hinges on absolute secrecy.... originally, it was something of a Soviet specialty, and the Russian word for it, dezinformatsiya, is virtually a direct analogue of our own. Within the KGB there is even a Department of Disinformation.

—Victor Marchetti
The CIA and the
Cult of Intelligence, p. 173.

"Germans Use Zaire for Missile Tests," read the headline of a startling AP story last December. It was based on a press release issued by *Penthouse* magazine, promoting an article to be released in its March issue. Publisher Bob Guccione stated that news of the story was being released in advance of publication "because of the gravity and enormity of the situation.... This stunning, clandestine development has been proceeding in the dark, without the knowledge of the American people."

And the story itself, when it appeared two months later, lived up to its sensational advance billing. Veteran reporter Tad Szulc let fly with both barrels right in the opening paragraph: "With the knowledge and approval of the United States, West Germany is secretly testing the cruise missile—potentially the most deadly weapon of the nuclear age—and the Intermediate Range Ballistic Missile (IRBM) at huge proving grounds in eastern Zaire in the heart of Africa. This program is in deliberate disregard of international agreements on the limiting of West German rearmament—specifically, the 1954 Treaty of Brussels."

Szulc reported that the West German government has constructed an elaborate cover story to disguise the nature of its operations in Zaire. It is using "what Bonn euphemistically describes as a 'private company'"—known as OTRAG—as a front. Ostensibly, OTRAG is engaged in "research on weather satellites." In fact, reports Szulc, it is manufacturing and testing cruise missiles and IRBMs in Zaire for the West German government. The company itself, he says, is no more than a front for the major German aerospace and defense contractors, which are supplying the hardware that goes into the missiles.

Why Zaire? Although the 1954 Treaty of Brussels prohibits the production, on German soil, of "long-range missiles and guided missiles," it says nothing about production of such missiles by Germans elsewhere in the world. As Szulc sees it, the German government has for years been itching to get its hands on cruise missiles. In the present geopolitical environment, the US government has been none too eager to come out publicly in favor of striking this restriction from the treaty. The European Left could make all sorts of propaganda out of renewed fears of "German militarism." But behind the scenes, he says, the CIA and the Defense Department are only too happy to assist the Germans in getting around the letter of the treaty. In fact, says Szulc, the US government has not only recruited American-trained scientists and provided "political coordination in Kinshasa, Bonn, and Washington" but has also supplied "cruise missile and other advanced technological know-how" to the West Germans.

Among the evidence cited by Szulc is the apparently startling lease contract signed by OTRAG and the government of Zaire. It provides that OTRAG may "take all measures that it deems necessary for the exercise of full and complete power in the territory" (which measures 38,000 square miles). OTRAG also enjoys the exclusive power to discipline its personnel and their families in the area, exempting them from Zairian laws. And on request from OTRAG, the government has agreed to "evacuate" from the area all persons whom OTRAG does not wish to be there. The government has also agreed to close all air space over the area, except to its own and OTRAG's planes. And no "observations" may be made in the area without OTRAG's authorization. In exchange for granting these concessions, for the 24-year term of the lease the Zaire government is to receive annual payments running into tens of millions of dollars (various conflicting numbers have appeared in the press), the free launching of an experimental reconnaissance satellite, and a 20 percent discount on any other satellite launchings it may wish carried out by OTRAG.

Left: OTRAG's launch center, atop a plateau in Zaire's Shaba province.

Inset: lift-off of first OTRAG rocket, May 17, 1977.

WON'T BE FOOLED AGAIN

I read Szulc's article with a growing sense of deja vu. No one likes to be taken in by disinformation, least of all an editor. I recalled with painful clarity the day that Howard Hughes' ostensible ocean-mining project—which I had trumpeted mightily as an example of courageous free enterprise ("The Seabed Power Struggle," REASON, July 1974)—was revealed to be a CIA cover story for its project to retrieve a Soviet submarine from the ocean floor. In the case of OTRAG, likewise, I had been attracted by the story of an innovative private company, challenging the might of government-funded space programs with its own low-cost but effective launch vehicle design ("Private Enterprise in Space," Trends, REASON, Jan. 1978).

And, in fact, if OTRAG is a cover story, it is a quite impressive one. The company's existence and general approach to developing low-cost launch vehicles have been common knowledge in the US aerospace community for several years. Articles about OTRAG began appearing in *Earth/Space News* early in 1976, culminating in a front-page story in its July/August 1977 issue reporting the first test launch of OTRAG's prototype space booster. This was followed by a detailed technical article by Robert Ropelewski in the September 12 issue of *Aviation Week*, the leading aerospace magazine. Most recently, *Popular Science* featured an in-depth, illustrated article titled "Bargain-Basement Rocket" in its

March 1978 issue.

As portrayed in these articles, OTRAG is indeed a private firm, funded by some 600 German investors. It is the outgrowth of more than a decade of design and development by a 38-year-old German aeronautical and propulsion engineer—Lutz T. Kayser. According to these articles, Kayser has been working on rockets since he was a teenager, having founded the German Society for Rocket Technology and Space Travel while in high school in Stuttgart. He studied under rocket pioneer (and former Werner von Braun associate) Eugene Sanger at Stuttgart Technical University, and under Sanger's guidance developed the world's smallest liquid-fuel propulsion unit.

During the 1960's Kayser, Sanger, and Wolf Pilz (another rocket pioneer) began working on the idea of a simple, low-cost space launch vehicle—a kind of space truck, in contrast to the Rolls Royce approach being pursued elsewhere. The key to holding down costs, they concluded, lay in two basic design principles: off-the-shelf, mass-produced parts and an extremely low-cost fuel. Their choice for the latter was a mixture of diesel oil and nitric acid. Though containing only about half the energy per pound of more conventional rocket mixtures, it costs only one-twentieth as much.

When Sanger died in 1970 (Pilz having retired), Sanger's widow helped Kayser found a company known as Technologie-Forschungs-Gmbh. Between 1971 and 1974 this company received several million dollars in R&D grants from the German federal government, but Kayser retained the rights to the results. When the government lost interest in the project in 1974, Kayser turned to private investors. Reportedly, his 600 backers have put $26 million into the new venture—Orbital Transport-und Raketen-Aktiengesellschaft (OTRAG). Kayser also signed on Kurt H. Debus, former director of NASA's Kennedy Space Center and another von Braun associate, as chairman of OTRAG's board.

From 1974 to 1977 Kayser perfected his diesel oil/nitric acid engine, making some 2,600 test firings on a test stand rented from the German Aerospace Research and Experimental Station at Lampoldshausen, north of Stuttgart. Meanwhile, his staff of 50 engineers and technicians was busy working out the ultrasimple design for the launch vehicle. A whole family of space launch boosters can be constructed by bundling together larger and larger quantities of the basic OTRAG fuel-tank-and-engine module, leading one German aerospace expert to characterize the booster as a "bundle of asparagus." In line with Kayser's low-cost approach, the modules are constructed from such common industrial parts as steel pipeline tubes, chemical industry ball valves, and Volkswagen windshield wiper motors (see box, p. 23).

On May 17, 1977, OTRAG made its first test launch from its facility in Zaire. The booster was quite small, consisting of only two standard tank-engine modules. Nevertheless, the test (seen on German television) was a complete success, the rocket reaching an altitude of about 20 kilometers (65,600 feet). The company plans a succession of test launches through 1981, with each booster composed of a larger number of modules (see illustration). The 1981 module would be capable of putting a 2,000-kilogram (4,400-pound) satellite into geostationary orbit—or a 22,000-pound satellite into a low earth orbit.

And that, according to OTRAG, is the point of its launch vehicle development program—to launch satellites for what it foresees as a booming market. Communications satellites, multispectral scanning (mineral prospecting and mapping) satellites, and reconnaissance satellites—these are the uses OTRAG claims for its launch vehicle family. And it expects customers mostly from among Third World governments, which either won't be able to afford or would prefer not to use such government launch vehicles as NASA's Space Shuttle or the European Space Agency's new Ariane booster.

Altogether, then, OTRAG presents an impressive and plausible cover story . . . if, indeed, it is a cover story.

CURIOUSER AND CURIOUSER

It was against this background information on OTRAG that I encountered Szulc's *Penthouse* article. Not wanting to be taken in again by a CIA cover story, I checked my initial impulse to dismiss Szulc's story as a publicity stunt or "black" propaganda. Szulc, after all, is an experienced reporter. He spent 20 years as a *New York Times* diplomatic correspondent, before turning freelance in the 1970's. Both at the *Times* and after, he was known to have numerous sources within the government, including, it appeared, some friendly contacts within the CIA. Victor Marchetti, in his book on the CIA, reports that Szulc "uncovered nearly the complete story" of the Bay of Pigs invasion before it took place (though he gives no clue as to how Szulc found out). In 1975 Szulc did a series of five articles for *Penthouse* "exposing" the world of the intelligence community and its covert operations—from Chile to Vietnam to Washington. Consequently, it is not implausible that some of Szulc's same sources within the government decided to leak him information about a secret project to help West Germany acquire a cruise missile capability—just as he claims.

But *is that*, in fact, what happened? A careful reading of Szulc's article raises a number of troubling questions. To begin with, he lists not a single source that can be verified. "This article," he writes, "is based on information obtained in private discussions with highly reliable sources, who have access to most of the relevant knowledge, in Washington as well as in Western Europe." Further on he says that "knowledgeable informants in Washington, speaking privately, do not buy the German cover story"; and, "still in private, officials in Washington have said that the Zaire enterprise represents a colossal international deception." So far, we do not even know which government these "informants" or "officials" work for.

Only in two places does Szulc become more specific. He states that "Carter administration officials have privately confirmed" that the CIA has recruited American-trained scientists for "this program" and has provided "political coordination." Further on he says that "American officials, speaking privately, have indicated that there is a *strong possibility* that the United States has made available to West Germany the required technology for the cruise missile and IRBM projects under the socalled Program of Cooperation (POC)" (emphasis added). But an official speculation is a far cry from a fact, as Szulc should be the first to admit.

Reached in his Washington office in April, Szulc told me he stands by his story "absolutely." Asked if he could be more specific about his sources, all he would say, very generally, was that most of his information was obtained

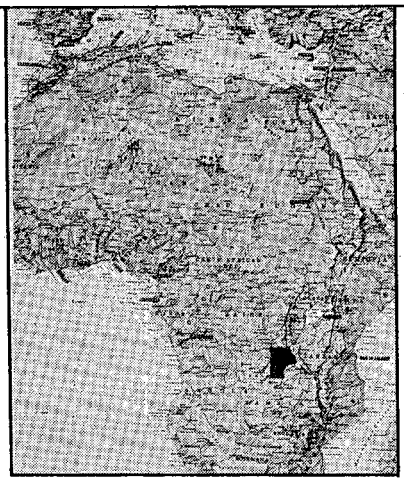
from and corroborated by "US government sources."

Aside from citing unnamed sources, what else does Szulc offer in support of his contention? Well, he tells us of a "glaring contradiction" in Bonn's "Zaire cover story." It seems that "a photographic blowup of a cruise missile was displayed at the 1977 air show at Le Bourget, near Paris"—presumably, though Szulc does not say so, in a German government exhibit. Somehow, from the fact that such a photo was displayed, Szulc leaps to the conclusion that it was a *German* cruise missile, even though "there was no explanation as to where, when, or how the Germans had produced a cruise missile." Then—with a straight face?—Szulc follows up with this sentence: "American specialists who studied the photograph have concluded, however, that the missile was flying over what appeared to be African terrain." What *appeared* to be African terrain? What kind of American specialists are these? Experts in spotting gazelle droppings in blown-up aerial photos?

We do not even know which government these "informants" and "officials" work for.

Incidentally, a "cruise missile" is nothing more than a small, lightweight airframe with a jet engine and very sophisticated computer-based guidance system. The essential technology that makes it a fearsome weapon is the guidance system, all of which is hidden inside the vehicle. From the outside, there is no way to tell whether a specific vehicle is actually a cruise missile or merely a remotely piloted vehicle (RPV)—a cheap and increasingly common, small, unmanned aircraft used for surveillance and fire control. Quite possibly, Szulc's expert informant saw a photo of a German RPV and mistook it for a cruise missile.

For an experienced reporter, Szulc has done a fairly sloppy job with his *Penthouse* article. He lists the size of the OTRAG leasehold as "a 100,000 square mile area (the size of the state of Colorado)"—when it is actually only 100,000 square *kilometers*, about one-third that size. He gives the lease payments as $50 million a year, whereas the agreement specifies, not a fixed amount, but five percent of OTRAG's revenues from launches for customers. Payments do not even *begin* until 1980, and at OTRAG's estimated 1981-90 launch rate of 10 per year, averaging $12 million in revenue per launch, Zaire's share would be only about $6 million per year, not $50 million. Szulc also, unaccountably, misspells the name of West Germany's largest aerospace firm, Messerschmidt-Boelkow-Blohm, rendering it instead *Messerschmidt-Belkov and Blaum.*



OTRAG

OTRAG's leasehold in Zaire, a territory half the size of Germany.

Nor is the sloppiness confined to such details. For one devoted to exposing a cover story, Szulc can't even get the story straight. (He evidently never read the September *Aviation Week* story.) Every time he mentions OTRAG's rationale, he refers to "research on weather satellites," as opposed to development of a commercial satellite launcher. This is a classic strawman. After characterizing OTRAG's purpose in this manner, he later "discovers" that the firm's contract with Zaire makes "no mention of weather satellites." No kidding! But it does explicitly mention reconnaissance and communications satellites—both primary commercial prospects for OTRAG's launchers. Further, Szulc notes that "American experts dispute the need of an area as large as Colorado [sic] for testing weather satellites. But the cruise missile and especially the IRBM do require a vast operational area so that they can be recovered within the proving grounds after launch." But so, of course, does the testing of a multistage space launch vehicle—a possibility Szulc conveniently fails to consider.

By now you may agree that Szulc has failed to establish the presence of a cruise missile project in Zaire—but what about IRBMs? What's the difference, after all, betweeen a satellite-launching missile and a ballistic missile? Aren't most US satellites launched by Thor, Atlas, and Titan missiles—originally developed as weapons? Couldn't OTRAG's "low-cost booster" be a German IRBM in disguise?

It's true that the larger OTRAG launchers will have range and payload capability suitable for ballistic missile purposes. But no one is likely to use them for that purpose, for a simple reason. The diesel/nitric acid fuel cannot be stored in the missiles' tanks for any length of time without risk of explosion. The missiles must be fueled just prior to launch—a long, hazardous operation, readily observable by reconnaissance satellites. Thus, the OTRAG rockets could not be launched in a first strike without giving away the attack hours ahead of time. And as a retaliatory weapon, they'd be destroyed by incoming missiles before fueling could be completed. Low-cost it may be, but diesel oil and nitric acid just does not make it as an IRBM fuel.

For one devoted to exposing a cover story, Szulc can't even get the story straight.

INCONSISTENCY

Szulc's story also suffers from internal inconsistency. Early in the article he portrays the government of France as "deeply concerned and even suspicious" about what OTRAG is doing in Zaire. According to Szulc, the French "asked Bonn to explain clearly the nature of the Zaire activities, but French officials are known to be unconvinced about the German cover story on weather satellites [sic]." But a few pages later, without batting an eye, Szulc reports that just last March "French aircraft flew Moroccan troops to Zaire to help Mobutu fend off the guerrilla attacks from Angola" and that "since July 1977, French, Belgian, and Moroccan advisors have

been attached to the Zairian army." If the French were really so concerned that dangerous German weapons were being tested in Zaire—in fact, in virtually the same area where the guerrilla invasion occurred— why did they rush to Zaire's (and on this hypothesis, Germany's) defense? The story just does not hang together.

When all else fails, you can always resort to character assassination. Thus, Szulc refers to OTRAG president Lutz Kayser as "a mysterious figure described as a top missile expert" and goes on to throw in the unsupported allegation that "Dr. Kayser reportedly had worked in the 1960's for the National Aeronautics and Space Agency (NASA), at the height of its space program, but this affiliation is not shown in current NASA records." How very strange! He goes on to add that the CIA refused to supply him with background data on Kayser. Somehow, *Aviation Week, Popular Science*, the *London Observer, Earth/Space News*, and several other publications seem to have had no trouble unearthing reams of data about the "mysterious" Dr. Kayser, who has been well known in West Germany for years. "It was also learned," adds Szulc cryptically, "that Kurt Debus, . . . who worked with Werner von Braun, . . . is currently working for OTRAG on the Zaire project"—a strange way of referring to the company's board chairman.

Szulc also portrays OTRAG as operating in secrecy—ignoring the publicity cited earlier in a variety of media. Since the *Penthouse* article appeared, further detailed stories, accepting OTRAG's "cover story" at face value and going into detail about its designs and plans, have appeared in *Popular Science* and *L-5 News*. OTRAG has also corresponded quite openly with REASON contributing editor Mark Frazier over the past year, regarding the company's interest in one or more additional equatorial launch sites. Szulc acknowledges that OTRAG allowed a West German television crew to visit its facility in Zaire to film a documentary on the company's first launch, but he dismisses the result as prearranged propaganda. He does not mention the fact that "secretive" OTRAG also hired a PR firm to publicize the launch.

Besides these obvious errors and inconsistencies, there are several discrepancies between the OTRAG and Szulc versions of what is going on in Zaire—discrepancies that are not so easy to resolve in favor of one side or the other. Szulc claims that OTRAG and/or the West German government has spent $300 million on facilities in Zaire—"air strips [plural], launching ramps, housing, and a hospital." OTRAG claims to have spent less than $30 million *altogether*, much of this on the rocket R&D. Photos released by OTRAG show a single 7,000-foot runway, housing, a launch control bunker, and a single crude launch pad with a hoist made of logs(!). Explaining why he vetoed flying in a conventional launch tower at this stage of operations, Kayser told *Popular Science*: "We only needed it to hoist up the nose cone," and one made by local carpenters was quite adequate for launching the 33-foot tall prototype.

OTRAG

The "mysterious" Dr. Lutz Kayser, holding a model of the OTRAG modular booster.

Could OTRAG's "low-cost booster" be a German IRBM in disguise?

Szulc claims that OTRAG is *producing* missiles—cruise missiles and IRBMs—in Zaire. OTRAG claims the Zaire facility is being used only to assemble the modular stages and makes the launches, with all actual production carried out at its Stuttgart assembly plant. Szulc also claims to have "new evidence that identifies two powerful West German military-industrial complex consortia as the driving force behind the Zaire project." What is this evidence? Szulc does not say. A few paragraphs later he simply asserts that Dornier and Messerschmidt are "the principal consortiums [sic] engaged in the production of the missiles being tested in Zaire," along with the French Thompson-CSF company.

Szulc's strongest argument remains the terms of the OTRAG-Zaire lease, which he, like other critics, regards as an unprecedented waiver of sovereignty on Zaire's part—and therefore as prima facie evidence that OTRAG is only fronting for the Bonn government. Yet this is not the only plausible explanation. Mobutu's regime, though receiving some aid from the West, is dangerously close to bankruptcy. In addition, it is threatened on several frontiers by hostile forces, now being aided by Cuban troops. Under these circumstances, is it so surprising that the prospect of a free reconnaissance satellite in 1981 plus $6 million or more a year in lease revenues would prompt Mobutu to grant generous terms? And for its part, OTRAG is receiving little more than American public utility firms routinely obtain (via eminent domain) in its demand to decide whom to evacuate from the leasehold. The lease's security provisions are not that surprising either, considering the general turmoil in Africa and the predictable hostility of the Soviet bloc and its client states to OTRAG's plans.

SORTING OUT THE TRUTH

What are we to make of these claims and counterclaims? Despite his errors and inaccuracies, could Szulc's story be correct in its essential thesis? There is one *sure* way to verify what is going on in Zaire: the use of reconnaissance satellites. At any given time, both the United States and the Soviet Union have in orbit sophisticated photo-recon satellites that scan the globe with black and white TV, color TV, infrared TV, and still cameras. The principal US reconnaissance vehicle is the Lockheed Big Bird, a 12-ton, 55-foot-long satellite in low earth orbit. Its resolution is such that it can identify automobiles by make and model. Certain of the Soviet Cosmos satellites reportedly have similar capability.

Last July the USSR launched two recon satellites, Cosmos 922 and 932, which passed directly over the OTRAG launch site in Zaire. Satellite expert

Bhupendra Jasani of the Stockholm Peace Research Institute analyzed the orbital paths of the two satellites. As he told the *London Observer:* "On July 20 Cosmos 922 was launched into orbit. Between July 20-24 it made four passes over the area of Zaire during daylight with optimal conditions for photography. Only one week later the Soviets launched a second satellite—Cosmos 932—to fly along the same track, only this time at much lower height to allow for high-precision photography." The *Observer*'s Andrew Wilson goes on to report, "According to Jasani, the two Cosmos satellites would clearly have shown that the Zaire launch site contained nothing resembling a military rocket. They would also have revealed that the OTRAG airfield is a simple runway."

Presumably, the United States has also examined OTRAG's leasehold in detail via Big Bird. Yet neither the US nor the Soviet government has produced a single photograph or other piece of evidence showing military missile operations at the site. That did not stop the Soviets from unleashing a propaganda campaign against OTRAG. Less than a month after the Cosmos observations, *Pravda* and sympathetic European leftist journals began attacking OTRAG, claiming that it had built a military base in Zaire. Soviet president Leonid Brezhnev, welcoming Angolan head of state Agostinho Neto to Moscow last December, condemned the West for establishing "military strongholds" in Africa, "such as the missile testing center in Zaire." Replied Lutz Kayser, "Brezhnev ought to be better informed about the project. We frequently see Soviet MIG-23 reconnaissance jets over our testing grounds."

Neither the US nor the Soviet government has produced a single piece of evidence showing military missile operations at the site.

Indeed, the idea that the production and testing of cruise missiles and IRBMs could be carried out in secret—given the reconnaissance technology posssessed by the US and Soviet governments—is ludicrous. Yet if either side has photographic proof of such operations, it is keeping it under wraps. All that has been released thus far is a lot of cold-war bluster.

SOURCES

It was noted earlier that Szulc is consistently vague about the sources of his story. Moreover, he had obviously not read the *Aviation Week* and *Earth/Space News* articles, nor had he corresponded with OTRAG, for he never did seem to grasp what the OTRAG "cover story" really involved. Where, then, did he get his information?

It turns out that the bulk of Szulc's story, right down to the misspelling of Messerschmidt-Boelkow-Blohm, had appeared previously in an article in a Paris-based leftist magazine, *Afrique-Asie*, on August 8, 1977. *Afrique-Asie* "frequently leaks secret documents emanating from East Germany and other East European sources," according to Andrew Wilson of the *London Observer.* The magazine's story was an expose of the "secret" lease contract between OTRAG and Zaire, a document that editor Simon Malley claimed had been provided by Nathaniel M'Bumba, commander of the abortive Soviet-backed invasion of Zaire earlier in 1977. Malley says that M'Bumba's "guerrilla informants" discovered the contract, presumably in Zaire. But according to Wilson, the contract was stolen from the safe of the Zaire embassy in Bonn. West German officials claim the theft was masterminded by East German intelligence.

Although it laid out the terms of the lease agreement, the *Afrique-Asie* article provided nothing more in the way of documentation of its claims of military operations and cruise missile testing. These remained, as in Szulc's article, purely assertions, supported only by emotional rhetoric. If, as seems plausible, the magazine had access to Soviet intelligence, that source provided nothing in the way of hard evidence—despite the intense observation by two Cosmos satellites.

We are left, then, with something of a puzzle. The Szulc/*Afrique-Asie* story is woefully undocumented, while OTRAG's story grows more plausible and better supported as time goes on and further articles appear. What, then, can we make of the opposition to OTRAG and of Szulc's role in the campaign?

To begin with, the Soviet opposition has a relatively simple surface explanation. Zaire, under the rule of General Mobutu, is considered a US client state—one of the few pro-Western governments in Africa. Discrediting Mobutu is an understandable objective of Soviet policy. Moreover, detente or no, the USSR has never relented from a virulently anti-West German policy, especially in European circles. "The Soviet Union knows exactly how to play on Western fears of a revived German militarism, and such a maneuver would give them a superb propaganda weapon," wrote one reporter last fall, commenting on the anti-OTRAG campaign.

But what about Tad Szulc? A simplistic explanation for his *Penthouse* article would be that Szulc, whose left-wing sympathies are well known, simply swallowed the *Afrique-Asie* story whole without doing much checking. This is a handy, satisfying explanation—but it won't wash. Szulc is no cub reporter, nor is he a propagandist by trade. He's a veteran investigative reporter, with a well-established network of contacts within the diplomatic and intelligence communities. It strains credulity to think that Szulc wrote the story without getting *some* kind of corroboration from at least some of his contacts. The question is: who. . . and why?

At present, anyone wishing to launch a recon satellite must go to one of two sources: the United States or the Soviet Union.

REAL BUSINESS

To solve this problem we need to take a closer look at what OTRAG's business really entails. One of the details Szulc reported correctly is the provision in the final section of the Zaire-OTRAG contract dealing with launches for the Zaire government. As noted earlier, the agreement provides that OTRAG will launch for Zaire, at no charge, an experimental reconnaissance satellite. As related by Kayser, Mobutu wants to be able to "see every mouse on both sides of his frontier." Subsequent launches for Zaire will be

at a 20 percent discount from OTRAG's regular rates.

It is this capability to launch satellites—particularly reconnaissance satellites—that provides the clue to the real genesis of the anti-OTRAG campaign. There is a large and growing demand for such satellites among Third World governments, and OTRAG is preparing to satisfy it. In an article published in *Africa* magazine last December, Kayser explained that OTRAG is prepared to launch spy satellites for anyone and everyone. As a result, "no major military move, such as a concentration of troops, activities on military bases, airfields, or even roads can escape the watchful eye of the satellite cameras.... Until recently, much of this spectacular achievement was cloaked in unnecessary military secrecy."

At present, anyone wishing to launch a reconnaissance satellite must go to one of two sources: the United States or the Soviet Union. Neither government wishes to allow reconnaissance satellites outside its control. Malcolm Currie, Director of Defense Research and Engineering, has spoken of imposing a limit on the degree of resolution permitted in satellite sensors launched by NASA for anyone but the Defense Department. "DoD and NASA have 'intensely' discussed NASA's development of the thematic mapper, which will provide resolution of 30 meters (compared to the 80 meters now available on Landsat with the multispectral scanner)." But OTRAG is talking of launching recon satellites with the ability to resolve objects as small as *3 meters*, like Big Bird and Cosmos 932.

The Soviet Union has gone even further, campaigning to have the UN Space Treaty amended to ban any nation but the United States and the USSR from launching reconnaissance satellites!

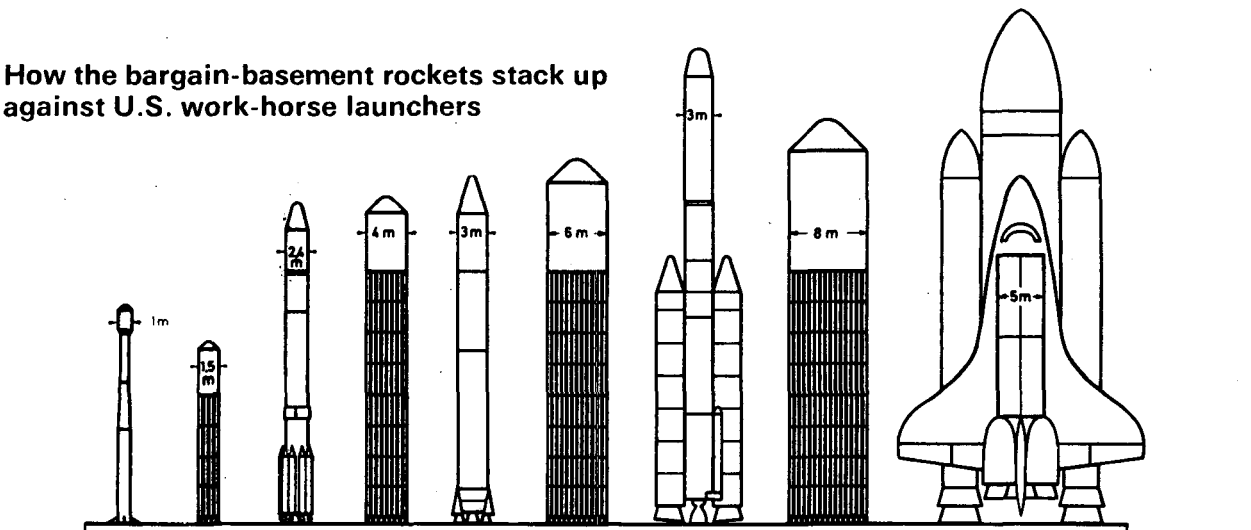
Of course, OTRAG's *desire* to launch such satellites will not guarantee them customers. They will have to deliver on their claims to provide both a technically feasible *and* affordable launch vehicle. But here the signs are promising. In the 1980's OTRAG's booster will be competing principally with five other (Western) launch vehicles: the US Thor-Delta, Atlas-Centaur, Titan III-C, and Space Shuttle; and the ESA's Ariane. OTRAG expects to be able to produce and launch boosters in the Thor/Atlas/Titan size range for $4-$5 million, but it plans to charge "market-oriented" prices of between $7 and $15 million—enough to turn a healthy profit and still undercut NASA's rates. The Space Shuttle's launch cost is projected at $25 million, which OTRAG also expects to undercut. The French-German Ariane, on which the ESA has spent over $1 billion, with the first launch not due until next year, is expected to cost $40 million per shot, though it will have only half the payload capability of OTRAG's largest (and much cheaper) launcher.

Thus, assuming OTRAG can raise the necessary capital and solve any remaining technical problems, it stands to clean up in the competitive battle with NASA, ESA, and the USSR. OTRAG is therefore a clear economic threat to the future viability of the government-sponsored Space Shuttle and Ariane projects. That, alone, is sufficient reason to justify an unofficial policy of hostility to OTRAG on the part of the US, French, and German governments. (And, indeed, far from supporting OTRAG, the Bonn regime has been distinctly cool to its operations, out of concern for the money it has tied up in the Ariane project.)

POWER MONOPOLY

But it is the threat of losing its shared monopoly on reconnaissance

How the bargain-basement rockets stack up against U.S. work-horse launchers



ORBIT	SCOUT-D USA	OTRAG-200 PRIVATE	DELTA 3914 USA	OTRAG-2500 PRIVATE	CENTAUR USA	OTRAG-5000 PRIVATE	TITAN III-C USA	OTRAG-10000 PRIVATE	SPACE SHUTTLE USA		ORBIT
300 km	200	200	2 500	2 500	6 500	5 000	15 000	10 000	30 000	KG	300 km
36 000 km	-	40	440	450	910	1 000	1 500	2 000	4 000	KG	GEOSTATIONARY

OTRAG rockets of varying sizes are contrasted with familiar space vehicles in scale drawings indicating maximum payload widths. Chart figures are payload weights, in kilograms, that each vehicle can loft to low and to geostationary orbit.

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capability that has certain segments of the US government and their Soviet counterparts worried. For if reconnaissance satellites become available to all nations, the Big Two will no longer be able to dominate international affairs and stage-manage crisis events. In every recent Middle East crisis, for example, US intelligence has supplied the Israelis with up-to-date reconnaissance data from its Big Bird satellites. The ability to withhold such information provides an incalculably valuable lever for influencing (interfering in) the affairs of others. Reconnaissance satellites give new meaning to the old adage that knowledge is power. Today that is literally true, and the wielders of this knowledge—the United States and the Soviet Union—share a monopoly on power that they are loathe to give up. The proliferation of reconnaissance satellites will shatter that monopoly, and OTRAG is the key to that proliferation.

A hint of confrontations to come was provided by Dr. Jasani of the Stockholm Peace Research Institute. Last fall, Chinese officials approached OTRAG to inquire about its launch vehicle services, Jasani told the *London Observer*. "After launching seven satellites between 1970-76, the Chinese suspended their experiments. Western experts believe they may have had difficulties with the weight of their space vehicles," Jasani said. Lutz Kayser has declined comment on any Chinese overtures but says he would not hesitate to launch reconnaissance satellites for them. "The answer is yes. I do not see anything wrong about China doing the same as both the Americans and the Russians have been doing for years."

Nor should we. When Israel *and* Egypt, Greece *and* Turkey, Iran *and* Saudi Arabia, Peru *and* Chile all have their own reconnaissance capabilities, the chances for peace will be increased, as the leverage of the United States and the Soviet Union is decreased.

It is *this* prospect—of drastic loss of influence and power—that chills some "American officials," making it quite plausible that they would drop hints to Tad Szulc that, yes, indeed, those damned Germans really are up to something dangerous in Zaire. And—for whatever reason—Szulc bought the story. But its implausibility and inconsistencies cannot stand the light of day.

Having been caught in this lie, let us hope "American officials" will back off from their disinformation campaign. Most importantly, US policy should firmly oppose the Soviet proposal in the United Nations to prevent other nations from acquiring reconnaissance satellites. The era of bipolar world politics is ending. The prospects for peace will be enhanced in the multipolar world of tomorrow. And little OTRAG is taking a giant step toward bringing that world into being. ◧

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OTRAG's Space Truck

Why are conventional space launchers so expensive and OTRAG's so cheap? According to board chairman Kurt Debus, "All previous systems were either developed for military purposes and adapted to peaceful uses, or they were built for manned missions and required a whole arsenal of safety-oriented redundancy. This launcher is designed purely for freight."

With that approach, Lutz Kayser and his small band of engineers have fashioned a design of elegant simplicity. The basic OTRAG module consists of two tanks—one for the nitric acid oxidizer and the other for diesel oil—feeding two engines. Each tank is filled about two-thirds full, then pressurized with compressed air. Adiabatic expansion of the air keeps the fuel flowing out; no need for the expensive, trouble-prone turbopumps used on most rockets.

Another simplification was the decision *not* to mount the engines on gimbals for steering the craft. Instead, steering is accomplished simply by throttling back individual engines on the side where less thrust is desired. A simple ball valve controls propellant flow to each engine; under computer control it can be set either full-open, half-open, or closed. Each tank/engine module has its own microcomputer, which is fed control signals from the rocket's inertial guidance platform on the upper stage.

The guidance system and the engine thrust chambers are about the only custom components in the entire launcher. The stainless steel tanks, 12 inches in diameter and 21 feet long, are regular pipeline tubes from a German steel company. The ball valves are off-the-shelf items used in chemical plants, actuated by VW wiper motors. The microprocessor and its nicad battery power supply are also commercial items.

The basic tank/engine modules can be clustered together, virtually without limit, to make larger and larger boosters. OTRAG plans multistage rockets; but instead of stacking the stages one atop the other, it will place them one inside another, like a set of nested boxes. As the outer (first) stage burns out, the second one ignites and moves on rollers out of the first one. This approach simplifies the structure and minimizes the need for complex separation mechanisms. It also makes it possible to carry wider payloads on OTRAG's short, fat boosters. OTRAG's 1981 model will be able to carry 26-foot wide satellites, compared with a maximum of 16 feet for the NASA Space Shuttle. Kayser expects this to be a major advantage as communications satellites grow larger and more complex over the next two decades.

There are some drawbacks to OTRAG's low-cost design. The booster is not, of course, man-rated. And it is not reusable. Its weight will be about double that of conventional rockets for the same payload capacity, mostly because the diesel oil/nitric acid propellant has a lower specific impulse (thrust per pound of weight) than other fuels, so more must be carried. But, as Kayser points out, that is not of major importance. What counts, says he, is the bottom line—"the proportion between launch cost and payload cost—not the weight ratio."

Assuming that the US and Soviet governments don't put OTRAG out of business, the next few years will demonstrate whether Kayser's daring approach to rocket design is as promising in fact as it looks in theory.

What's Happening In

QUÉBEC

The Parti Québécois wants to create a "new society". How free would its "free Québec" be?

by Pierre Lemieux

ON NOVEMBER 15, 1976, a Quebec election brought the separatist Parti Quebecois ("Quebecer Party")* to power. Some people talked of a landslide: merely eight years old, and after only two unsuccessful electoral bids (in 1970 and 1973), the Party Quebecois had won 70 of the 110 seats in the Quebec National Assembly. Would Quebec secede from the rest of Canada and become a sovereign state?

Reactions in libertarian circles have been mixed. Some anarchists are looking forward to the disintegration of a big, socialist state called Canada and to the end of the imperialist oppression of the Quebec people. For other libertarians and many conservatives, especially the few of them who are living north of the 45th parallel, what happened was a major step on the road to serfdom; in some circles, the Parti Quebecois is even perceived as committed to a totalitarian society, if not run by the KGB "in person."

What is happening in Quebec? I believe that both the KGB hypothesis and the libertarian interpretation ("They have nothing to lose anyway, the poor things!") are based on intellectual shortcuts and plain factual errors. But they do raise what is the important question: How free would a "free Quebec" be?—which can only mean: How free would individuals be in a free Quebec? What would happen to individual liberty?

SEPARATIST LANDSLIDE?

First of all, one must realize that what happened on November 15, 1976, was far from a landslide in favor of separatism.

The PQ was elected by a small minority: 41 percent of ballots cast, or 35 percent of registered voters. In terms of popular votes, the defeated Liberal Party did not do much worse with 33 percent of the ballots, although it was reduced to 27 seats in the National Assembly. The large parliamentary majority of the PQ was purely a product of a well-known phenomenon of electoral mechanics: the frequent amplification of popular vote by our single-winner, single-round, majority electoral system.

During this last electoral campaign, Parti Quebecois strategists downplayed the separatist issue. They insisted that Quebec's political sovereignty was to be accompanied by an economic union with the rest of Canada. Moreover, they promised that the whole constitutional question would be dealt with separately, in a referendum to be held before the end of their first term in power.

This was good strategy indeed. Although centuries-old nationalist feelings are running high in the country that Voltaire once called "a few acres of snow," opinion polls indicate that at most 20 percent of Quebec voters (that is, roughly the support marshaled by the PQ in the 1973 election) are actually in favor of political independence. It is true that a majority of Quebecers want a new, more decentralized Canadian federation, but it is no less true that the 1976 PQ victory cannot be interpreted as a vote for Quebec independence.

What then did Quebecers vote for? As usual in political majority choices, the preferences expressed by the electorate are ambiguous. There is no way to determine what the 35 percent who voted for PQ candidates actually wanted. The only thing we know for sure is that at least 59 percent (that is, the people who did cast a ballot for somebody else) did not get what they demanded.

Only a rare configuration of many heterogeneous factors,

* The noun and the adjective *Quebecois* refers to an inhabitant of Quebec. The name *Parti Quebecois* pretentiously implies that this party is the only genuine Quebecers' party.

often unrelated to the separatist issue, can explain the Parti Quebecois victory. For one thing, their platform promised a host of social measures, "free" goods ranging from free dental care and day care centers to more public housing. What was the alternative? The ruling Quebec Liberal Party, the only viable alternative from an electoral point of view, was no real alternative. Ideologically inconsistent, but more socialist (or corporate-capitalist) than liberal, it was also perceived as a corrupt government. And do not forget that many voters must have yielded with great pleasure to the Machiavellian temptation of blackmailing *les maudits Anglais* into giving them a larger share of the state loot. Add to this, among yet other factors, the personal charm and popularity of Mr. Levesque, the PQ founder and leader, and you get enough ingredients for what they call "the people's choice."

ENGLISH VS. FRENCH

It is misleading to suggest that French-speaking Quebecois (81 percent of a provincial population of six million) are imperialistically exploited by English-Canadians.

Although Quebec intellectuals liked to think of Quebec as an underdeveloped, colonial society, they now boast that, among the world's independent countries, today's Quebec would rank 23rd in GNP and 11th in per capita income. It is true that an unusually large chunk of Quebec industry belongs to foreign shareholders, that French-speaking Quebecers have been conspicuously absent from corporate boardrooms, and that their average incomes are somewhat lower than those of English-speaking Quebecers. But as imperialist scapegoats, Americans could qualify better than English-Canadians, and the Quebec Catholic Church better than the United States. Yet it is probably true that the remaining inequality is mainly the legacy of old, complex, and mostly impersonal historical circumstances.

However important the language and cultural issues are on the Quebec political scene, and although English has remained the language of big business, one cannot seriously argue that Quebec is a cultural colony of imperialist English Canada. The 1867 British North America Act, the basic document of the Canadian constitution, gave provincial parliaments a wide and clear jurisdiction over cultural matters. For more than a hundred years, the Quebec government has had exclusive jurisdiction over all levels of education in the province. It is therefore as patently false to suggest that the English language was forced upon Quebec schools as it is misleading to say that English was imposed on Quebec courts or government bureaucracies. Only in the federal public service did the Canadian state actually impose English as the working language. One grasps the extent of Quebec's constitutional leeway when one realizes that this province has its own French civil law system.

Most Quebecers certainly do not feel that they are a dominated and colonized people. There is plenty of evidence that nationalism, like socialism, is much more prevalent among well-to-do Quebecers than among the poorer.

"A NEW SOCIETY"

"We need a real government," claimed the Parti Quebecois electoral slogan. And a real government they promised. Besides many social goodies and a great number of economic controls, their platform included nationalization of automobile insurance, the pharmaceutical industry, and, progressively, of all urban land. They have a standing commitment to finance free education by establishing a compulsory civilian draft—and this is in a country that has never known military conscription in peacetime! (What is bad about a

military draft, they believe, is not the draft but the military.) Many Parti Quebecois supporters argue for outlawing private schools. The ultimate goal, as often expressed in public debates, is to "invent a new society." It is in order to achieve this that they want all the power of the sovereign state.

What the new ruling gang of Quebec has been doing during the past 18 months shows that, like other states, they already have far too much power. They have nationalized part of the automobile insurance industry and are now proceeding to "buy," willy-nilly, one asbestos producer. Their new language legislation has (among other things) severely restricted access to English minority public schools. They have passed new labor legislation that outlaws "scabs." They have increased the minimum wage to $3.27 (compared to $2.65 in the United States) and indexed it. (No wonder Quebec unemployment now exceeds 11 percent!) They are considering more direct protection of Quebec publishers against foreigners (and foreign ideas?). And to make sure that nobody spends too much money criticizing them, they have adopted amendments to the Election Act that drastically limit private contributions to political parties—to the point where it would now be virtually impossible to start a new one. In the same spirit, they have introduced new legislation that would tightly control political contributions and activities of private citizens, as well as groups, during future referendum campaigns. *And so forth.*

It is tragically ironic that the long reign of l'Union Nationale came to be associated with liberal capitalism.

Social democracy, Swedish-style, is the official ideology of the Parti Quebecois. Now, this is just another brand of socialism and statism. There lies the main significance of November 15, 1976: the advent of an official social-democratic government in Quebec. It is unfortunate that, seen through the average commentator's glasses, this crucial fact has been blurred by the more flashy, but rather unimportant, vision of a new flag in the United Nations. (Similarly, most foreign commentators have neglected the crucial fact that Quebec terrorists—except perhaps for the very first waves in the early sixties—were primarily socialist extremists.)

It is true that social democracy represents a relatively mild form of socialism. In principle, social democrats are willing to tolerate a nominally private economy, provided that they have enough power to impose an egalitarian redistribution, to oversee the whole economy, and to intervene in society whenever required by "the public interest"—any time, any place. So what's the difference between social democracy and the welfare-state capitalism that our "liberals" have already imposed on us? Isn't Jean-Francois Revel, a mild French social-democrat, entitled to argue that the United States is becoming a model social-democratic state? These questions apply, a fortiori, to Quebec, where the previous-so-called Liberal government had been implementing mild socialist ideas with growing enthusiasm. Why, then, is the advent of an official social-democratic government in Quebec of any significance?

Granted that there is only a difference of degree between the degenerate "liberal" state and its social-democratic heir. But this difference nonetheless represents a big move toward the totalitarian state. This is only too well illustrated by Parti Quebecois policies.

The 1976 Quebec election is an important step on the road to serfdom. This becomes even more obvious when one realizes that it is on the more openly authoritarian range of the (wide) social-democratic spectrum that the PQ is browsing.

One must be simpleminded or completely ignorant of Quebec politics, however, to imagine KGB manipulations or some other diabolic conspiracy. The statist trend in Quebec (and in Canada) has been fueled by well-meaning but naive politicians like Mr. Levesque (and his Canadian counterpart, Mr. Trudeau). In Quebec as in other countries, the state is like a cancer: it does not need a conspiracy to grow.

A STATIST TRADITION

One factor that makes the situation of liberty in Quebec worse than, say, in the United States, is that Quebecers seem to lack any libertarian (antistatist) tradition that could be relied upon against statist invasions.

Remember that the French colony was a product of *l'ancien regime* and absolute monarchy. It was conquered by a new master in 1760, 29 years before the French Revolution. A representative assembly conceded by the British in 1791 spent much of the next half-century trying to substitute its own brand of authoritarianism for that of British administrators. If the "Patriots' Revolt" of 1837-38 and its aftereffects carried any ideology other than nationalism, it would appear to be closer to Rousseau's absolutism than to any real libertarian concern. This armed uprising was followed by the Union of the two Canadas (English and French) under a single government in 1840 and, as a consequence of this new threat of cultural assimilation, by the withdrawal of Quebec society under the skirt of its Church and its elite. By the time the 1867 Confederation had largely dissipated the threat, the Catholic Church continued for a long time to appear opposed to government intervention, but mainly because it claimed the exercise of state power for itself.

The only libertarian moments of Quebec's political history were probably during the early 20th century, when the Liberals (the "Reds") were in power. The party that defeated them in 1936, l'Union Nationale, was a coalition of conservative elements (the "Blues") representing an anticapitalist, corporatist, and nationalist reaction backed up by the Church. ("Do not forget that heaven is blue and hell is red," was already a well-known admonition of clergymen in times of election.) Led by an autocratic, simpleminded, populist politician named Maurice Duplessis, l'Union Nationale was to remain in power for most of the 1936-59 period. It is tragically ironic that this long reign, *la grande noirceur* ("the deep darkness") as the period has been labeled, also came to be associated with liberal capitalism and libertarian ideals.

If the government of l'Union Nationale did not meddle more with the economy, it is partly because they just did not like change and because they shared the Church's disdain of economic activity, and partly because it was not yet so fashionable for Western governments to intervene in everything and because Duplessis simply did not know how. Yet, remember that this government introduced minimum wage laws, planted the seeds for the nationalization of hydroelectric companies, and generously subsidized agriculture and its rural constituencies as well as church organizations ("The bishops eat from my hand," said Duplessis). Observe how little these rulers cared about individual rights, civil *and* economic, especially when their authority or the Church's mission was deemed to be involved. The famous and infamous 1937 "padlock law" (struck down by the Supreme Court of Canada in 1955) forbade an individual to use his own property for

disseminating communist propaganda on the free market. It is this same government which, in its drive against the Jehovah's Witnesses, struck one of their contributors, a restaurant owner named Frank Rocarelli, by revoking his alcohol license! (The case was brought to court, and in 1959 the Quebec government was condemned to pay damages of $30,000 to Rocarelli.) No question that the Duplessis government was an authoritarian, antilibertarian regime.

"ANTI-CAPITALISM"

Mistaking this for free-market capitalism, progressive intellectuals thought that socialism must be the cure. This is why the new intellectuals of the fifties and the Liberal Party turned more and more to the panacea of state intervention. Among them were Robert Bourassa (the Liberal prime minister defeated by Rene Levesque), Rene Levesque himself, and Pierre Elliot Trudeau.... To a large extent, Quebec politicians are authoritarian products of an authoritarian tradition. Think of Bourassa's Liberals boasting about having adopted 526 new pieces of legislation in six years of government! Or think about Trudeau proclaiming the War Emergency Measures Act in October 1970—suspending habeas corpus just as British Governor John Colborne had done in 1838.

It is probably significant that Rene Levesque is the one who, as Liberal Minister of Natural Resources in the early sixties, completed the nationalization of hydroelectric power. What has been called the "Quiet Revolution," starting with the 1960 victory of the Quebec Liberal Party, was mainly a replacement of traditional authoritarianism by "progressive" authoritarianism, of the Church by the State: a hocus-pocus of power aggrandizement.

It is true that mentalities were changing. There was a blooming of expression, creativity, and the arts. But instead of being satisfied with the dismissal and noninterference of former authorities, the new intellectuals and politicians called on the new secular state to guide, underwrite, and often impose a social progress for which they claimed paternity. From the creation of a centralized and monstrous Department of Education to the formation of numerous state companies, what they proudly called l'Etat du Quebec meddled with virtually everything. A decade later, some estimates put at nearly 50 percent the share of government (all levels) in Quebec's national income.

The Catholic Church soon boarded the new bandwagon of power. Under the guise of an old friend, the third option between "ruthless capitalism" and "atheist Marxism," the Canadian bishops' conference has been advocating nothing else than state socialism. *Sauve qui peut!*

One would look in vain for a libertarian intellectual tradition in Quebec. Even in the (very politicized) academic and educational circles, virtually nobody is aware that there exists such traditions distinct from the different brands of socialism. The French libertarian economists and *publicistes* of the 19th century (B. Constant, J. B. Say, Molinari, Dunoyer, etc.) were not heard across the North Atlantic and remain unknown. It is probably an understatement to say that the great Tocqueville himself is not widely read. From the Anglo-American classical liberal tradition, a few ideas filtered through British legal institutions and American connections, although free-market doctrines appear to have been imported only recently by a few Quebecers who were exposed to Chicago School economics while studying abroad. This small-scale bootlegging did not make headlines, and the current renaissance of libertarian ideas, from Hayek's and Mises' Austrian economics to Nozick's minimal state and Rothbard's anarcho-capitalism, has not touched Quebec's intellectual scene. Like the Catholic Church, Quebec tends to remain always a few decades behind in the stream of ideas.

NATIONALIST SOCIALISM

Another reason Quebec's cavalcade down the road toward statism is especially frightening lies in the dangerous, albeit natural, alliance between nationalism and socialism.

Statist nationalism leads to socialism. National rights are nothing but collective rights in disguise. And what are "collective rights" if not a statist fiction against individual rights? The nation-state is still a State; nationalist statism is still statism. And, as a French Academician wrote, "The statist is a man who is becoming socialist, and if he dies still a non-socialist, it is simply because he has not lived long enough" (Emile Fagut, *Le liberalisme*, Paris, 1902).

To a large extent, Quebec politicians are authoritarian products of an authoritarian tradition.

Conversely, socialism usually finds nationalism to be a useful ally. For, contrary to socialist hopes, socialist programs must have a geographical locus; and the nation-state is the most easily available alternative. It is easier to take over the government that is closer to the people! Although there may be exceptions (for instance, a nationalist reaction against a centralized socialist state), one would normally expect nationalism and socialism to be mutually reinforcing.

Quebec provides a good case in point. Most socialists (of the fifties and of later generations) have become Quebec separatists or nationalists. The ones who have not are still working hard to find a Canadian nation: Aren't we all exploited by American capitalists from coast to coast? From their side, nationalists have smoothly glided into socialism. Consider the evolution of the contemporary separatist movement: born in 1957 with a right-wing, elitist, nearly theocratic organization, l'Alliance Laurentienne, and after having subsequently gone through a dozen different organizations from the extreme left to the inconsistent right, the movement was finally consolidated in the left-wing, elitist, secularly theocratic Parti Quebecois.

Quebec's cavalcade down the road toward statism is especially frightening because of the alliance between nationalism and socialism.

And only with the glamor of socialist rationalizations was the Quebec separatist movement able to achieve some success. Conversely, official socialism could never make it alone, without the emotional support and pretext of nationalism; the Canadian social-democrat party, the New Democratic Party, was never able to elect a single candidate in Quebec.

THE FUTURE OF QUEBEC

To be free or not to be free, that is the question. What kind

(Continued on p. 36)

How Science Should Deal With Psuedoscience

Ignoring the cultists will not make them go away; scientists should devote time and effort to investigating the pseudoscientists' claims.

by Armando Simón

THERE IS ENOUGH PSEUDOscience going around these days to worry scientists about its influence on people, particularly youth. Perhaps part of the concern can be attributed to envy: the peddlers of mediocrity, such as Hans Holzer, Uri Geller, Jeanne Dixon, and Erich von Daniken, seem to be getting rich while scientists have to beg for grants in order to conduct research. That's not the whole story, however—there is genuine worry that the spread of pseudoscience is harmful. But should scientists themselves do anything about it?

SCIENTIFIC PURITY

Most scientists want to keep out of the whole dirty business. They avoid professional contact with such topics as astrology, ESP, flying saucers, reincarnation, talking to plants, for fear of tarnishing their professional reputation. Such an attitude, however, is unproductive.

First, self-righteous ignoring of such topics does not make them go away. That should be evident to anyone by now. Second, and more importantly, such an attitude does not give the layman a chance to see both sides of the story. This is akin to Edith Efron's point in *The News Twisters* that if the news media do not show a balanced spectrum of views on social or political issues we get a "brainwashing effect." One can go to any bookstore and see dozens of books on the "occult," but seldom if ever is there a single selection debunking the occult. This does not speak ill of the public! Not at all. Popular bookstores are where people go to buy reading material, and if there are no anti-occult books available, it is not the fault of the public. In fact, the evidence shows that books refuting UFOs or the Bermuda Triangle, for example, sell rather well when they are offered. The onus of responsibility clearly falls upon those who are intellectually and technically capable of refuting the pseudoscientific claims and arguments. But they often feel it is beneath their dignity to do so.

A personal example: In my late teens I came upon the sensationalist writings on flying saucers and supernatural powers—Edwards' *Flying Saucers—Serious Business* and Gaddis' *Invisible Horizons*. Had I not then stumbled across two other books—Menzel and Boyd's *The World of Flying Saucers* and Keel's *Jadoo*—that refuted flying saucers and Eastern "feats of wonder," I might still be believing, and echoing, the occult viewpoint.

PSEUDOSCIENCE MEETS FACTS

Pitting science against pseudoscience can be effective. We need only look at some of the pseudosciences that have been dealt near-deathblows by researchers.

Palmistry. M. E. Wilson and L. E. Mather, interested in its claims, set out to investigate palmistry—admittedly in a somewhat macabre fashion. They measured the "lifelines" of 51 cadavers and compared their length to the ages at which those persons had died, taking into account each person's height. They reported in the 1974 *Journal of the American Medican Association* that they did not find a significant correlation.

Feeling plants. The talk-to-your-plants fad is based on the claim that plants can perceive and feel emotions just like humans can. The main anchor for this fad was a 1968 report by C. Backster in the *International Journal of Parapsychology.* He stated that plants could perceive, as recorded by polygraph, the killing of brine shrimp. Various intrigued researchers tried to replicate the Backster experiment, using better controls, procedures, and equipment. As reported in *Science* (August 8, 1975) and in an April 1977 article by Kmetz in the *Journal of the American Society for Psychical Research,* they found nothing of the sort purportedly discovered by Backster. Of course, by then the pseudoscience was in full swing, with books like *The Secret Life of Plants* proliferating.

Bermuda Triangle. Supposedly there is an area within the boundaries of Florida, Cuba-Haiti, and Bermuda wherein ships and planes have mysteriously disappeared, perhaps due to unknown magnetic or extraterrestrial forces. Incident after incident is recounted with as much mystery as can be mustered. Even Columbus, it is said, saw eerie nocturnal lights on his first voyage. Lawrence Kusche decided to actually research the topic (several of the occult writers claimed to have done research), and what he came up with was a masterpiece of investigation, *The Bermuda Triangle Mystery—Solved.* All the hack writers had been so busy rehashing the same cases again and again, each time rewording them even more mysteriously, replete with dark insinuations, that they had not even bothered to see whether each particular ship was on record as ever having existed. In fact, some of the ships had sunk as far away from the Bermuda Triangle as Newfoundland, the Azores, or the Pacific Ocean. Others were floating wrecks, ready to be junked, when they sailed straight into a storm and thereby "disappeared." Although Kusche does not mention the eerie lights that Columbus saw, one persistent investigator, L. R. Crawshay, in 1935 checked old almanacs for the night of October 11, 1492, when the vague lights on the horizon were reported. A local marine fireworm that mass-mates via a signalling luminous secretion does so at a particular phase of the moon, which coincided with that of October 11. (See *Nature*, 1935, vol. 136.)

Fortune-telling. A 1969 essay by Gresham in *Panorama of Psychology* is valuable. He did not actually do research but he found a fortune-teller who was quite willing to divulge his secrets, stating quite frankly that any "expose" by the writer would not diminish his clientele. Gresham was able to observe the clients, as the session began, through partly open doors. The fortuneteller's secrets would be described today as probing

of his clients with Barnum Effect statements, with the clients' faces providing the cues as to the accuracy of each statement. The Barnum statements used were very similar to present personality descriptors of popular astrological signs.

Extraterrestrial visitors. Lastly, we should speak of Erich von Daniken's books *Chariots of the Gods?* and *Gods from Outer Space* (which sparked imitations). His main thesis is that in prehistoric times earth was visited by extraterrestrials. What is so irritating with von Daniken is not his thesis, which has been more competently put forth by others before him. Rather, it is his so-called evidence and logic, which works like this: We do not know how the pyramids were built; therefore, they were made by extraterrestrials. Drawings of humanoids have headdresses with feathers; obviously, they are drawings of aliens with antennae in their helmets.

Attacking archaeologists and casting himself in the role of a martyred genius, von Daniken was off and running. His evidence and his arguments were refuted, however—primarily by a group of Austrian archaeological theologians who wrote the books *Some Trust in Chariots, Crash Go the Chariots,* and *The Chariots Still Crash.* Von Daniken's archaeological ignorance is pointed out (for example, there were no ropes in Egypt, according to him); his faulty mathemetics is revealed (in dividing the area of the Khufu pyramid by twice its height, the result is 593.3, not a magical pi); his knack for inconsistencies is examined (C-14 dating is cited as being both flawless and inaccurate, depending on what suits him at the time), as is his penchant for making up data whenever necessary (he refers to incidents in the Old Testament that are not to be found there).

The *Chariots'* pseudoscience is particularly vulnerable to debunking because it parallels areas of study that have been thoroughly investigated, like Egyptology. Here is where it differs from the other pseudosciences, which are more often more nebulous, with less hard evidence. Furthermore, von Daniken's manner of reasoning and his thirst for fame made him easily vulnerable to rebuttal. That relatively few archaeologists rose to the occasion was surprising, the above having done so because their Christian sensibilities had been injured.

PAYOFFS

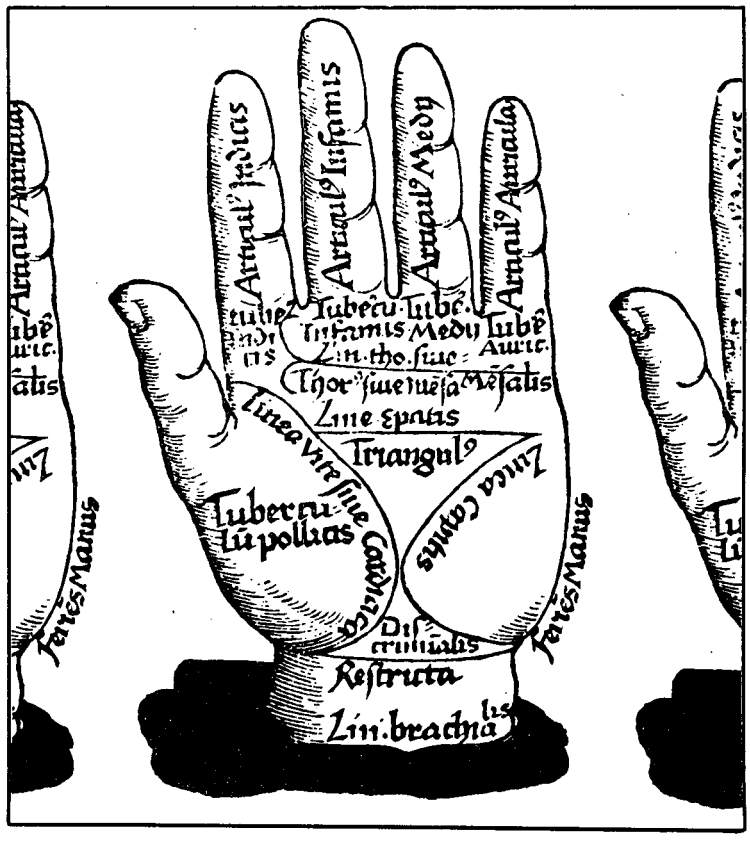
Such research is rare and hard to locate in comparison with the written output of the pseudosciences. Casting a critical eye on the pseudosciences can be very lucrative, even though their adherents may be "true believers." By and large, however, scientists are staying out of the fray. As Robert Sheaffer pointed out in "UFOs, Bent Spoons, and Alternate Realities" in REASON (Aug. 1977): "The active debunkers, for the most part, are *amateurs*, many of them highly skilled and effective, but almost none of them professional scientists. The man who exploded the Bermuda Triangle myth, Lawrence David Kusche, is a reference librarian. The most persistent and successful debunker in UFO history, Phillip J. Klass, is a technical journalist. The effective critics of spiritualism and parapsychology have been stage magicians. Professional scientists have for the most part remained totally silent on these subjects."

Perhaps an argument against scientists' getting involved (aside from their being easily duped) is that cultists have too much invested, psychologically, to easily change their beliefs. True, those individuals probably would not be fazed by a whole barrage of books like those of Klass, Kusche, or Menzel and Boyd. In fact, such writings are invariably referred to in scorn by the UFO subculture—when they are mentioned at all—even by those at the Center for UFO Studies, which is peopled, incidentally, by scientists. The counter-objection, however, is that it is the *public* that needs to be reached, not the cultists. Moreover, the cultists' frame of mind itself, as well as the personality of individuals attracted to such matters, is a rich field for psychologists to mine. In his *UFOs Explained,* Klass, one of the few UFO debunkers, lauds the value of such scientists' involvement: "An experimental psychologist, experienced in the inherent limitations of human perception and recall, would place far less credence in UFO reports from pilotes, police officers and airport-tower operators than would a physicist or an astronomer, and with good reason. Yet relatively few persons with these types of expertise have become UFO investigators, compared with those whose backgrounds are in physical science."

TRUTHS TO BE HAD

Another reason why scientists should get more involved with the anomalous subjects—and this may come as a shock—is that these subjects should be studied by competent people in case there is any *truth* to them. Far better to approach these topics with our scientific tools and methodology than to dismiss them altogether.

If the fallacies are disproved via replicable experiments, we have advanced scientifically and those opposing the pseudosciences have gained some ammunition. *But,* if it is found that their assertions are true, we have advanced anyway, and their assertions have now a firmer base than mere personal faith. This is just what has happened with yoga (see Shapiro *Biofeedback and Self-Control*). Furthermore, verifying a phenomenon does not necessarily confirm its cause. For example, if we find that persons born at a particular time have certain personality-pattern similarities, this would not confirm that the constellations are the cause. In fact, enough evidence has been amassed from ethology to support an alternative explanation—that the environment influences an organism during gestation and after birth; lengthening-of-daylight's effect on reproductive and migratory behaviors alone suggest an exten-



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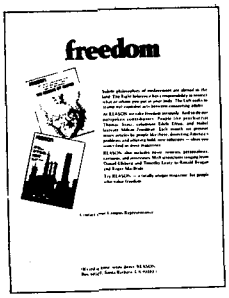

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sion to humans.

To be sure, the adherents of each pseudoscience would vehemently affirm that their particular system of beliefs is based on fact. They have the habit, too, of repeating ad nauseam that the findings of previous great scientists like Mendel and Darwin were ignored by the so-called scientific establishment—which proves nothing of course, since a lot of worthless misinformation was also ignored.

The cultists' frame of mind itself is a rich field for psychologists to mine.

Unfortunately, there is another problem here, what is called *E* bias. Whether an experimenter is for or against a particular pseudoscience may preclude impartiality in studying it. Goodstein and Bravis detail a relevant example in the 1970 *Psychological Reports.* They mailed to psychologists summaries of supposed experiments on the relation of astrology to personality and asked them to judge the "experiments." The experiment reporting negative findings was judged to be better designed than the comparable experiment claiming positive results. Sheaffer sounds the approximate warning: "Some people disbelieve in the pseudosciences for no better reason than because it all *sounds* so implausible. Yet this is a habit of mind no more excusable than the childlike credulity with which many of these cults' adherents accept tales of wonder supported by little or no proof."

Another reason for scientific attention to the pseudosciences is that, whereas the particular subject matter (pyramid power, palmistry) may be dead ends in themselves as far as research is concerned, there are incidental phenomena to be explored. This is particularly true for psychology and sociology. That is, the cult mentality of the Flat Earth Society, for example, may be of investigative worth even if their claims are not. This sort of thing was taken up by several authors in *When Prophecy Fails.*

The UFO matter is another case in point (see the work of Simon reported in *Inter-American Journal of Psychology* and in the collection *Behavioral Scientists Look at the UFO Phenomena,* both forthcoming in 1978). The possible origins and physical laws of flying saucers as hypothetical extraterrestrial machines exhibiting lightning-like flight patterns, has attracted discussion by physicists and astronomers, written up by Sagan and Page in *UFO's—A Scientific Debate.* The phenomenon also contains a wealth of tangential data which has for the most part been neglected in the psychological fields of perception, personality, hypnotism, and social psychology. This neglect is particularly unfortunate insofar as the phenomenon has been present on and off for over three decades. Should UFOs in the end prove to be nothing more than mundane terrestrial occurrences, their examination will not have been a total waste of time, money, and effort. Aside from obtaining information on atmospheric phenomena like ball lightning and plasma, the UFO period will have provided us with sociological-psychological information—if psychologists take the trouble to examine the available data.

USELESS SNOBBERY

When research has been done on the pseudosciences, the results have often damaged their credibility. In other cases, it has supported the underlying validity of the "pseudoscience"—the case of yoga, nowadays used in biofeedback, comes to mind. In most instances, the particular pseudoscience is still locked in bitter controversy but is yielding incidental information. Many scientists interested in studying the pseudosciences, among them Carl Sagan, B. F. Skinner, and Isaac Asimov, have now formed the Buffalo-based Committee for Scientific Investigation of Claims of the Paranormal. (It is interesting to note that the flourishing of the pseudosciences coincided with the big push by Humanists against censuring anyone, with the exception of anyone in the Establishment, for his actions or beliefs. Only narrow-minded people, Humanists proclaimed, could object to others' mind-expanding attempts, which would ultimately end in goodness. Now, however, the reverse is true: Humanists are in the forefront in combatting the pseudosciences, particularly astrology).

Scientists should emerge from the research cul-de-sacs wherein they operate and begin to apply their skills and knowledge to the pseudosciences. There is really no good reason for snobbing them if both scientists and laymen will profit by whatever results are found. This is no great call for Social Responsibility and Social Conscience. The point is simply that, regardless of an individual scientist's position on UFOs, ESP, etc., it would be most beneficial to everyone to investigate these subject matters scientifically—trying, of course, not to contaminate the data or the design with that researcher's set of beliefs. The antitechnological groups notwithstanding, the public still listens with respect to scientists. ◻

Armando Simon is a trilingual native of Cuba. His Ph.D. is from the University of Southern Mississippi, and he has published in various journals of psychology.

The Great Money Hoodwink

In which the forty-third President comes to understand the raison d' être of the Federal Reserve.

by Eric Way

Jimmy Gunn, 43rd President of the United States, entered the Oval Office, sat down behind the giant desk, and with a loud gutteral hawk prepared himself for another day of seat-of-the-pants navigation of the world's most powerful, still quite productive, totally bankrupt, welfare state.

President Gunn pushed the button on his intercom and said, "Send in Blandish."

Dr. Clarence D. Blandish, chairman of the President's Council of Economic Advisors and holder of a variety of degrees in both micro-and macro-economics, entered the Oval Office.

"Good morning, Blandish," said the President. "I hope you are fine and things are going well. Don't bother to answer that. I'm kind of rushed this morning, and I would like to get right down to it."

"Thank you, Mr. President," interrupted Blandish.

The Commander-in-Chief beckoned him to a chair, offered him a cigar, which he refused, lit one himself, and then proceeded.

"As you know Blandish, a president gets a lot of crackpot mail. I've been getting letters from this nut who thinks he knows something about economics. He says he's been watching pretty closely, and he believes there's some financial sleight of hand going on around here."

"Really, Mr. President, I'm sure that..."

The President raised his hand for silence. Then he walked briskly to the office door to make sure that it was tightly closed. When he returned, he reached into a drawer, pulled out a file of neatly typed letters, and tossed it carelessly on his desk.

Then the 43rd President of the United States looked his chief economic advisor right in the eye and said, "Blandish, this nut thinks the Fed has been passing bad checks."

Blandish stared in disbelief.

"Why that's the most absurd thing I ever heard!"

"I know, I know," said the President.

"Besides," said Blandish half-jokingly, "the Federal Reserve *can't* pass bad checks."

"Why can't it?"

"Because if the Fed writes a check, it's perfectly legal just because the Fed wrote it."

The President looked puzzled.

"Blandish, are you telling me that nobody, including the President of the United States, can cash a check when he doesn't have money in the bank—but the damn Federal Reserve can?"

"In a manner of speaking, yes," said Blandish. Then, when he saw the expression on the President's face, he decided he'd better explain.

"You see, Mr. President, to help stabilize the economy, the Federal Reserve has the legal power to vary the amount of money in circulation. It does this in one of three ways: by lowering bank reserve requirements; by varying the interest rate it charges member banks on short-term loans; or by its favorite way—buying government securities in the open market."

The President nodded that he understood.

"For example," continued Blandish, "if the Fed wanted to increase the money supply, it might go into the marketplace and buy a few billion dollars' worth of government securities. In effect, the Fed would be trading cash for securities, which would put more money into circulation."

"So?" said the President, beginning to fidget.

"Well," said Blandish a little more hesitantly, "now we come to the part your pen pal is probably thinking about. You see, the Federal Reserve may pay for the

bond purchases by check. And it may not have all that cash right there in the till. In that case it just writes them anyway, even though the checks don't represent actual cash."

The President looked nervous.

"Blandish, are you telling me that Boon Dock Charlie, here, is right?"

"No sir," said Blandish, "it's all perfectly legal."

"But if the checks don't have any money behind them, they must be rubber checks."

"If it will work for the Fed and the banks," asked the President, "why won't it work for the Treasury and the federal budget?"

"Perhaps it would be less confusing if we stopped calling them checks and called them authorizations or something like that," Blandish proposed. "In any event, the banks treat them just like real...I mean, just like other checks. They are added to deposits and become part of the base from which the banks can lend more money."

The President shook his head. "There is something screwy here," he said. Then, suddenly, the expression on his face began to change.

"Let me make sure I understand this," said the President. "The banks deposit these Federal Reserve 'things' right along with the regular money—the cash and checks that private citizens have deposited, right?"

"Right."

"And once the numbers on the Fed things have been added up with the numbers on the—you know, the real money—there is no way to tell which is which?"

"No way."

Slowly, a look of revelation came over the President's face.

"This is really something. It's a wonder nobody ever thought of it before."

"Thought of what?" asked Blandish.

The President was getting excited.

"Why, I'll just declare a moratorium on the whole damn federal income tax!" he said.

"You'll do *what?*" exclaimed Blandish, stunned.

"Why, what the hell," said the President. "Those Federal Reserve things are much too valuable to waste on the banks. We'll just have the Fed turn them over to the US Treasury. Then the Treasury can mix them all up with the real money it borrows from the private sector, and there will be no way anyone can tell the difference."

Blandish stared, speechless.

"Then, we'll take the new mixed up money and use it to pay for the federal budget. No one will have to pay an income tax. People can spend their own earnings on themselves. The economy will boom. Why, if we have enough of those Fed things left over we might even pay off the national debt!"

The President reached excitedly for the telephone, but Blandish quickly put his hand over it.

"Hold it! You can't do that," admonished Blandish.

"And why can't I?" shouted the President, as if his authority had been challenged.

"Because it won't work," cried Blandish. "The damn thing won't work!"

The President glared at him for a moment. Then, struggling to keep his cool, he sat back in his chair and relit his cigar. When he spoke next, his voice sounded as if it could freeze the contents of a blast furnace.

"Blandish, all I want to know is this: If it will work, for the Fed and the banks, why won't it work for the Treasury and the federal budget?"

Blandish's head was reeling.

"Well for one thing," he said, stalling for time, "we are talking about a lot more money—$300 to $350 billion for the current budget alone...never mind the national debt."

"But if the Fed things work for a *few* billion, why won't they work for a *lot* of billons?" asked the President.

It took Blandish a moment to think of the answer.

"The problem is, even though you can't *see* a difference, there really is one," he said, "because the Fed is actually dealing with two separate types of money: old-fashioned money and modern money."

"There's a difference?" asked the President.

"Oh yes. You see, in the old days, all money represented was just private wealth."

"I thought that was all money was *supposed* to represent," said the President.

"No, no," said Blandish, disparagingly. "Modern money also represents *the power and authority of the State.*"

The President looked confused, but Blandish continued.

"In earlier times, the only paper currency around was in the form of certificates circulated by private banks. The issuing bank promised to pay the face value of the certificates in gold or silver. As long as people respected the honor and integrity of the issuing bank, they traded the certificates just as we trade paper money today. And it was that kind of situation which probably prompted some smart statesman to realize that there was an obvious need for government intervention here," said Blandish.

"There was?"

"Of course," Blandish retorted impatiently. "Supposing the private bank cheated and issued too many receipts. The private citizen should be *protected* from that."

"Oh," said the President.

"So eventually a new kind of paper currency was invented. It retained the concept of real wealth by being redeemable in gold or silver. But it added a new ingredient: the legal sanction, power, and authority of the State," said Blandish.

"Stop this economic double-talk and tell me why we can't redeem dollars for gold or silver," said the President.

"You know as well as I do you can't trade in paper dollars for gold or silver," declared the President.

"That's the part I was coming to next," said Blandish. "You see, once the government had a way to control the volume of currency, then it could help *manage* the economy—by decreasing the supply of money when the economy overheated or by increasing the supply when recession seemed likely."

"Stop this economic double-talk and tell me why we can't redeem dollars for gold or silver."

"Because," explained Blandish, "it turned out in practice that there were many more times when it seemed desirable to *add* money to circulation than to take it out. For example, on balance, in the 1960s we were adding to the money supply at a rate of about two per cent annually; in the 1970s, the rate had grown to over six percent."

"So we ran out of real money to add to the economy?" asked the President.

"Well, obviously, there was a growing volume of paper currency around," said Blandish, "so the government couldn't be expected to trade all that paper money for the nation's strategic supplies of gold and silver.

"Besides," Blandish added as an afterthought, "it really doesn't matter anyway, because the paper money is still legal tender and backed by the honor and integrity of the United States government."

The President picked nervously at the mushy end of his cigar.

"But damn it, Blandish, that still

doesn't change anything. You said once the Fed things were mixed up with real money, there was no way to tell the difference."

"Well, sure," said Blandish. "But you have to remember that you are combining two separate and distinct types of money. You have private-sector money, which still includes some element of private unconsumed wealth, and you're adding the Fed...ah, 'authorizations,' the government-type currency that never represented anything except the legal sanction and power of the government. So obviously, if you combine the two, you will have more units of money, but representing the same amount of wealth as before."

"So each unit of the new combined money will have to buy less?" said the President.

"Exactly," answered Blandish. "And that is why the Fed has to be very damn careful how it mixes the two types together."

The President looked frustrated.

"So getting back to your big idea," continued Blandish, "the fact is, it takes all the skill the Fed can muster to prepare enough new monetary units to meet the nation's money-credit needs—never mind the federal budget or the national debt."

The President had run out of patience, and he had come to a decision.

"Well, I don't like it," he said, clenching his cigar vice-like between his teeth, "and I'll just bet you that the President of the United States can make the Fed cut it out!"

Blandish stared aghast. "Suppose the Fed did cut it out?" he said. "Then you would be back to the system in which money only represented private wealth, and there would be no way for the government to control the money supply."

The President looked blankly.

"Then," said Blandish, choosing his words carefully, "except for taxes and borrowing, there would be no other government access to private wealth."

When the expression on the President's face began to change, Blandish decided that now was the time to let it all hang out.

"Without government control, the volume of money would not expand or contract to meet the needs of modern society. Instead of the present system in which government and the private sector *share* available wealth, there would be head-to-head competition at the loan window of the bank. Interest rates would rise so high no one could afford to finance a second-hand paper plate."

The President looked ill-humored, but Blandish hurried on.

"Picture the Treasury trying to roll over $100 billion of debt annually without some way for the government to first make money more easily available. Then you would have to run balanced budgets on a pay-as-you-go basis, not a down payment now and much more later, as we have done with some Social Security benefits. Under these inflexible ground rules, many taxpayers might decide that some government services are not worth what they cost."

"To sum up," said Blandish, "if we didn't have some way for government to increase and decrease the supply of money, there would have to be higher taxes or lower budgets."

"So we ran out of real money to add to the economy?" asked the President.

That straw broke the camel's back. The President rose, indicating that the interview was about to be terminated. He shook Blandish's hand, thanked him for his help, and eased him gently but firmly toward the door.

But, just as Blandish was about to leave, the President thought of one last question.

"Just for the hell of it, Blandish, what if the government learned to live with balanced budgets, the economy grew, the quantity of money remained absolutely constant, and there wasn't a damn thing anybody could do about it—what would happen then?"

"It would be weird," said Blandish, "just the opposite from today."

"You mean prices would fall?"

"Yes," answered Blandish. "For example, take a new car that sells for $10,000 today; five years from now, the very same new model might sell for only $8,500 or $9,000."

The President thought it over for a moment.

"So if you put $10,000 in the bank and didn't spend it until you retired, then it might purchase what it takes $20,000 to $25,000 to buy today?"

"Yes, something like that," said Blandish.

"And that would be bad," said the President.

"It certainly would!" said Blandish. "That would be *de*flationary. And under those conditions we would just regress to an earlier stage of civilization in which there would be no way for the government to control the money supply—or to help the private citizen manage the economy."

Blandish closed the door quietly behind him.

Alone in the Oval Office, the President was silent for a moment. Then, with a shrug, he tossed the file of neatly typed letters into the wastebasket and, with a jab at the intercom button, transferred himself back into the real world of practical, down-to-earth, no-nonsense politics. ◻

Mr. Way is a free-lance business writer.

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Joe B. Mann

Washington Laughs at the Welfare State

A play lampooning England's National Health Service has them rolling in the aisles.

by John R. Coyne, Jr.

"Moving the second reading in the House, the Minister of Health, Mr. Bevan, said that the National Health Service Bill provided a universal health service without qualification, and would make universal the best advice and treatment (though owing to shortage of staffs and hospital accommodation it would be a short time before it could bear full fruit), and he had made up his mind not to permit any sectional or vested interests to stand in the way. The main instruments of the health service would be the hospitals, the general practitioners, and the health centres, the hospitals being in many ways the vertebrae.

Speaking for the opposition, Mr. Law asserted that no valid reason had been given for taking over the hospitals. . . . He adhered firmly to two principles: viz., that the doctor's only responsibility should be to his patient, and that, as far as his judgment was concerned, he should be responsible to no one but himself and certainly not to the State. The bad effects of the bill would only begin to show themselves in ten, fifteen or twenty years' time, when the mistake would be irrevocable.

—Excerpts from Keesing's Contemporary Archives, *1946, reprinted in the program for Washington's Arena Stage Production of* The National Health, *by Peter Nichols.*

As EVERYONE NOW KNOWS, those bad effects are showing in spades these days, and twenty years after Britain's National Health Service was voted in, Peter Nichols wrote *The National Health*, a satire that savages the NHS and the welfare state for which it is a central symbol.

The mood among England's writers and intellectuals has shifted dramatically over the past two decades. In the fifties, the literary phenomenon was the angry young men, a group of writers like John Osborne and Kingsley Amis who let fly at the institutions of the British establishment for what they viewed as their hypocrisy and lack of concern for the well-being of the country's citizens.

A decade later, however, that establishment was no longer the primary shaper and controller of English life. There was a new establishment, which exercised more minute control over individual lives than the old establishment had ever dreamed of. The new establishment was the State, and in the sixties and seventies the State became the single most important target of literary satire.

That the welfare state has become such a target is extremely significant, for the very existence of satire indicates that something has gone awry within the social system being treated by the artist. There are as many definitions of satire as there are dead leaves to be raked in autumn.

John Dryden wrote that the aim of satire is "the amendment of vices." Daniel Defoe believed the objective to be "reformation." Dr. Johnson saw it as an approach to literature "in which wickedness or folly is censured."

But whatever the definition, the end of satire is to attempt to cut away or cure social illness and aberration. The medical analogy is an apt one, and some satirists have compared their role to that of the physician. The physician treats physical sickness; the satirist operates on social sickness. In fact, Tobias Smollett, the 18th-century naval surgeon turned novelist and one of English literature's greatest satirists, referred to himself as "a doctor of men and manners." It is within this satirical tradition that Peter Nichols practices his craft.

In *The National Health,* Nichols' subject is sickness—the sickness of a group of patients, the sickness of the National Health Service that treats them, and the sickness of the larger society, for which the hospital serves as a microcosm. The entire play is set in the Sir Stafford Cripps ward for terminally ill men. (Sir Stafford Cripps, whom Churchill referred to as Sir Stifford Crapps, was the socialist minister for economic affairs whose policies in the late forties helped bring on England's economic malaise.)

The characters, as we wait for them to die, chatter about everything conceivable connected with physical, mental, and social health and in the process lampoon all aspects of English society, politics, love, racism, racial chauvinism, and even religion. The talk is fast and funny, although some of the lines smack a bit too heavily of terminal vaudeville routines. Sample: "If my old friends were alive to see me now, they'd drop dead."

The talk is broken into periodically by a play within a play, an ongoing soap opera, watched by the patients on their ward television set, which romanticizes the loves and lives of an idealized group of doctors and nurses. Also frequently breaking in are the real doctors, nurses, and a matron, whose interest in the patients as individuals, in marked contrast to the soap opera medics, is relentlessly cheerful and totally perfunctory. The doctors and nurses are martinets, and the care they provide is heavy-handed and intrusive, with everything done by the book. Moans one of the patients: "They even wake you up to give you a sleeping pill." The system leaves the patients with nothing to cling to. They are deprived of their individuality and therefore their dignity, and they are not even allowed a dignified death. "The Eskimos let their old people die in peace," says one patient. "The Eskimos haven't got a health service," answers another.

There are things I didn't like about the play. I prefer plays with well-developed plots to the fluid, essentially plotless structure favored by Nichols. Some of the humor also seemed unnecessarily offensive, marked by that curious fascination with bodily functions that characterizes so much of contemporary literature. Nevertheless, bed-pan humor and matters of individual taste aside, *The National Health* is a remarkable play. It is remarkable in that, despite the subject, it makes us laugh. It is remarkable for what it makes us laugh at. And it is remarkable that so many theatregoers in a city like Washington feel like laughing at it.

Nichols is no ideologue. He lampoons conservative as well as socialist politics, and he is merciless with Christianity. But the central target is socialism, and this gives many Washingtonians trouble. A *Washington Post* drama critic put it this way: "If, then, this is meant as a criticism of how loused up Britain's medical system is, Nichols might have done more honestly by his

argument by contrasting how the poor and middle class, which most of his patients are, would have been treated in the old days."

Now there is just a touch of validity in this criticism. The great satirists always showed us a norm against which the aberrations they skewered could be measured. But Nichols suggests no cure, and one has no idea of what his standard might be. Is it the system of "the old days" against which he is measuring today's system? We don't know, for he doesn't hint at an answer.

The National Health is remarkable for what it makes us laugh at.

But this isn't really what troubles the *Post* critic, who would probably be shocked to be told that his comments represent cultural commissarism at its worst—namely, an attempt to dictate the contents of a literary work according to ideological predilections. But the reaction is understandable. The assumption is that wherever there is socialism, things have to be better than they were before. This is one of the unexamined assumptions held in common by many—perhaps most—of our intellectuals and writing people, and they have come to believe it just as absolutely as they believe absolutely that everything is relative.

Lately, however, in England and in much of Europe, the attitude toward socialism has been changing. It is no longer something that you must discuss and debate in solemn terms. It is no longer a sacred cow. It is, in fact, an eminently lampoonable system, something that can actually be laughed at. And this is precisely what the standing-room-only audiences at Washington's Arena Stage were doing—they were laughing at Peter Nichols' depiction of the welfare state.

A decade ago, a play like *The National Health* would not have elicited that laughter from a Washington audience. There were certain things one just didn't laugh at. Satires on such easy targets of opportunity as the military, businessmen, or Vietnam were one thing. But satirizing such things as state-controlled medicine simply wasn't done. If you went that far, you might as well satirize New Deal or Great Society programs. And who could laugh at that sort of subject matter?

Over the past decade, however, there seems to have been a distinct shift of national mood, as yet unchartable, but very much in the air. Perhaps it was Vietnam, perhaps Watergate, perhaps the economy, perhaps taxes, perhaps the increasingly uncomfortable intrusiveness of federal programs. But whatever the reasons, there seems much less willingness among a growing number of citizens to entrust their well-being totally to a benign centralized government. Government seems intent on proving to us that whatever it undertakes it does so inefficiently, with a minimum of concern for individual human lives and a maximum for blundering. And the more it blunders, the funnier it looks.

Socialism is no longer a sacred cow.

In the end, this is the message that Nichols seems to want us to take away from *The National Health*. And judging from the laughter of its audiences in Washington, that message is coming through.

John Coyne is a Washington-based freelance writer. His article is reprinted, with permission, from Private Practice.

Lemieux

(*Continued from p. 27*)

of State would an independent Quebec have? Concerning the future, including the "economic future," of an independent Quebec, this is the important question. The more State you have, the less freedom. We must not forget how unfree a so-called free Quebec could be. The considerations sketched above certainly do not indicate much of a prospect for liberty in a sovereign Quebec.

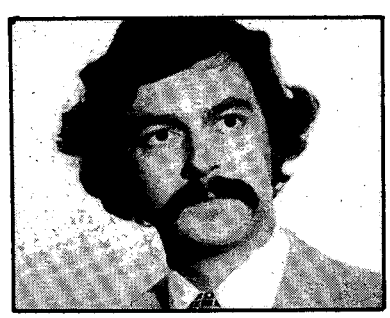
Of course, Quebec's independence has not been proclaimed yet; and one cannot be sure it ever will. But one must not discount that possibility. Within a decade, the proportion of Quebecers favorable to political independence has probably doubled. Although it seems to have remained stable for the last few years, a new rise may well be around the corner now that separatists have access to the powerful propaganda instruments of the Quebec government. And even if the promised referendum (expected sometime in 1979) turned down separatist proposals, there is nothing to prevent the Parti Quebecois from trying again as long as it remains in power.

I have argued elsewhere (Montreal's *Le Devoir*, September 20 and 21, 1977) that, from a libertarian point of view, the Canadian alternative is preferable. One should choose the lesser of two states, and it appears that the statist trend would be more irresistible in an independent Quebec than it is in a federal Canada with some common-law tradition. I would maintain this position, although I would still stress its contingent nature.

Whichever way one looks, the future of liberty in Quebec does not look rosy.

A few intellectuals and politicians are starting to realize that what remains of liberty is threatened. An important convention was held by the Quebec Liberal Party last November under the theme of "Freedoms in Quebec," and the proposals submitted to the membership revolved around a refreshing, albeit often inconsistent, free-market manifesto project. Unfortunately, and despite the apparent enthusiasm of the membership, the overall outcome of the convention was no less timid than the original project. Like the fragrance of an unfamiliar woman, the perfume of liberty is fugacious.

Perhaps one should not yield to pessimism but should instead trust that Quebecers would make the right choices if only they had a real alternative. But this does not change the fact that what is now happening in Quebec does not augur well for the future of liberty. Quebec separatists have nothing in common with the Boston Tea Partiers. In the kind of free Quebec now being planned, only the Monster State would be free. R



Born in Quebec, Mr. Lemieux is an economist. His book on economics and political philosophy will be published in France this fall. He makes his home in Montreal.

A Few Good Children's Books

... and, as our reviewer discovered, there are just a few.

by John McClaughry

ANY INDIVIDUALISTIC PARENT whose children are able to read will at some point come up against an unpleasant fact. Most of the young children's books on the market, or in the libraries, exhibit deplorable characteristics—intellectual vacuity, glorification of the State and other authority figures, inordinate emphasis on peer-group approval, and the like.

So REASON decided to try to seek out a list of more suitable children's books for the family oriented toward individual liberty. We sent letters to the children's book editors of 36 publishing houses. First we explained a little about the libertarian point of view and about REASON. Then we invited them to submit for review any of their in-print books, suitable for children ages 2-10, which:

- avoid racism, sex-role stereotypes, and violence and brutality and promoted racial brotherhood, decency, nonsexist role choice, etc.;
- encourage self-directed personal growth and instincts for free cooperation and avoid glorification of authority, including and particularly governmental authority:
- avoid emphasis on peer-group norm setting or approval;
- contribute to character formation and development of moral awareness (without invoking religious authority);
- encourage acquisition of knowledge, clear thinking, imagination, and reading skills and have a coherent story line or plot.

We also promised that if the books submitted were stinkers, we would mercifully omit them from the review.

The results can be summarized briefly. Of the 36 publishers contacted, only 10 responded. We received a total of 29 books. Despite the fact that our letter to publishers specified ages 2-10 in three places—once underscored—7 of the 29 books were clearly for ages 10 or up. Another 5 books were not unsatisfactory but bore little in common with the REASON criteria, and 10 more ranged from vapid to utterly deplorable. Of the 29 books received, only 7 were judged worthy of favorable mention.

Most of the young children's books on the market exhibit deplorable characteristics.

Perhaps the best of the "winners" is Johanna Johnston's *Harriet and the Runaway Book* (Harper & Row, ages 7-11, $5.95). This is a child's biography of the celebrated 19th-century author whose writings did so much to inflame public opinion against the evils of human slavery.

Harriet Beecher was one of eight children of the famous minister Lyman Beecher. As a child, she eagerly competed with her three older brothers, both in performing homestead chores and in the family debates Lyman Beecher encouraged around the dinner table. She became so accomplished for her age that Lyman Beecher would say, "Hattie should have been a boy!" At 13 young Hattie began as a teacher's aid—in Latin—with students often bigger than she.

When her father moved to teach at a seminary in Cincinnati, young Harriet had her first opportunity to observe the system of slavery, across the river in Kentucky. She was horrified. Soon she learned of the Underground Railroad and its tales of desperate escapes from the slavers' bloodhounds to freedom in Canada.

Harriet married Calvin Stowe, moved to Bowdoin College in Maine, and began to raise a large family. At this point in life many young women of her day would devote themselves to purely domestic pursuits. But Harriet was aflame with indignation at the Fugitive Slave Act. Her brothers Henry and Edward denounced slavery from the pulpits of New York and Boston. Harriet, now mother of six young children, determined to use her talent to strike down slavery. Her talent was the pen, coupled with her passionate opposition to an inhumane system that denied black Americans their natural right to freedom. The result was *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, the sensational novel that persuaded hundreds of thousands of Northerners that slavery was a moral evil that must be destroyed.

Ms. Johnston tells the story well, and Ronald Himler's evocative charcoal sketches do much to hold reader interest as the book builds to the climax of Emancipation. Harriet Beecher Stowe provides a fit subject, for she dared defy both the power of slavery and the power of sexism that disapproved of feminine participation in controversy. The book is highly recommended for young people, particularly girls.

Our second favorite is *The Alligator and His Uncle Tooth*, by Geoffrey Hayes (Harper & Row, ages 8-10 $5.95). This is the clever and whimsical story of a young alligator, who yearns to break out of his humdrum life as a clerk in his Auntie's stationery store, and his blacksheep Uncle Tooth, an unhappily retired sea captain.

As a youth, Tooth ran away from home to pursue a glorious quest at sea. He was determined, he tells his young nephew, to be the first to sail to the place where the sun sinks below the horizon. Through great—and amusing—deeds of cleverness and daring, Captain Tooth gains renown throughout the Seven Seas. In a dangerous voyage in search of a pirate treasure in the forbidden Sea of Spume, Tooth first wins, then loses, his heart's desire. Crushed, he retires to a shack on the beach, living in the past. But his nephew's enthusiasm rekindles the old alligator's spirit, and as the book closes the youngster and his grizzled uncle sail off together to perform great new deeds on the bounding main.

Harriet Beecher Stowe provides a fit subject, for she dared defy both the power of Slavery and the power of sexism.

The Alligator and His Uncle Tooth is not only a clever and charming tale that will capture the imagination of young (and older) readers. It is also a song in

praise of motivation, courage, stamina, ingenuity, decency, and high ideals that cannot fail to have a salutary effect on youngsters of both sexes. Highly recommended.

Three of our recommended books are the product of Lollipop Power (Chapel Hill, NC), a feminist collective dedicated to "writing, illustrating, and publishing books to counteract sex-stereotyped behavior and role models presented by society to young children." Not surprisingly, all of the Lollipop Power protagonists are females.

Ann Tompert's *The Clever Princess* (ages 5-9, $5/$2) is the best of the three. Princess Lorna's widowed father, the King, rules rather lackadaisically with very little imagination, along the lines of "anything not required is prohibited." Lorna thinks this regimentation is outrageously stupid. She spends a lot of time absorbing wisdom and magic lore from The Old Krone who lives in the nearby forest.

Finally the King decides it would be far more satisfying to go fishing than to police his kingdom, and he tells his counsellors that it is time to turn the kingdom over to Princess Lorna. The male-chauvinist-pig counsellors are aghast at the idea of a female ruler. They first insist that she be married off to some young man fit to rule as King, but Lorna is simply not interested in marriage. The counsellors, desperate, then persuade the King to require his daughter to pass a series of riddles and tasks. This she does with great cleverness, although she finally has to invoke The Old Krone's magic.

Lorna becomes Queen, repeals all the rigid and foolish laws of her father, and allows everyone to do his or her own thing. The kingdom blossoms with happiness and creativity, and everyone lives happily (and freely) ever after.

Amy and the Cloud Basket by Ellen Pratt (ages 3-8, $2) is the fantasy story of a girl who wants to help the males spoon clouds over the moon each day instead of hauling baskets of cloud-stuff up the mountain with the other females. The males are, as usual, aghast at the idea. Finally, when no one can think of any good reason not to let Amy do her own thing, all the sex-role stereotypes are abandoned. The story concludes, rather inexplicitly, with Amy bunked out with her friend Fred the Moon-Cow, revealing that the author has never spent much time in a cow barn.

Carlotta and the Scientist, the third Lollipop Power book, by Patricia Riley Lenthall (ages 5-9, $2), gets a somewhat more mixed review. (My four-year-old daughter loves it, which is why it stayed on the list.) Carlotta is a penguin, a species of creature distinguished by the fact that daddy penguins hatch the eggs while the mommy penguins march off to sea to collect fish for the family. (Discovery of this fact may have been a highwater mark of feminist research.) Carlotta is inquisitive, and for her curiosity is much abused by her peer group. On her way to the sea, she discovers a (female) scientist lying on the ice, a mile from her base camp. She has, it seems, twisted her ankle, and from all appearances she plans to lie there whining until she freezes solid.

The helpful Carlotta assists the scientist to return to camp, where she is repaired while Carlotta explores the curious ways of humans. Finally the expedition members take Carlotta back to her faithful husband and now-hatched chick, along with a large bag of fish.

My problem with *Carlotta* is the sorry picture it paints of the injured female scientist. Here she is, only one mile from her camp, with a sprained ankle. She is lying on the ice "whining." Now when one thinks of Sir Douglas Mawson's desperate and solitary march across 90 miles of Antarctic wastes, pausing now and then to pour the blood out of his boots and tape the soles of his feet back on to the uppers (not his boots, his *feet*), and painfully pulling himself out of a crevasse in which he is dangling, exhausted, on a thin rope at 40 degrees below zero, the whining female scientist presents a rather pitiful contrast. One cannot help but believe that Harriet Beecher, Uncle Tooth, and the clever Princess Lorna would have improved considerably on this sorry performance.

Elizabeth Catches a Fish by Jane Resh Thomas (Seabury Press, ages 6-9 $6.95) is the story of a very small adventure by a seven-year-old girl. Her father gets her a fishing rod for her birthday, and they go out at the crack of dawn to try it out. It is raining, cold, and uncomfortable, and Elizabeth more than once longs for the warm hearth of home. But she is determined, and sure enough, she finally lands a big one that is much admired by the boatman, the restaurant crowd, and her family. The story is very simple but illustrates the virtues of determination, perseverence, and mastery of new skills.

The last of the seven is Eleanor B. Heady's *Safiri the Singer* (Follett, ages 8-10, $5.95). This is a traditional East African Aesop's Fables, as told by a wandering "safiri," or storyteller. Like Aesop, Safiri relates wondrous tales of the animals of the forest that illustrate virtue and folly. Although the setting and character names will be unfamiliar to young Americans, the tales are readily understandable and well written for young readers.

This project has been something of a disappointment, for several reasons. The first is the low rate of response from publishers. We have no way of knowing whether the nonresponding publishers simply were not interested or whether they conscientiously searched their lists of titles without being able to produce even one suitable book for review.

The second disappointment lies in what we learned about the mentality of editors who did submit review copies. Despite our repeated insistence that the books be suitable for ages 2-10, we received seven books that clearly aimed at older children. This made us wonder whether many of the editors could read. Then there were the 10 books we received that could not, even by the most liberal construction, come close to complying with our criteria. Did the editors really believe that *those* books met *those* criteria? This troublesome question raises real doubts about the mentality of children's book editors.

The third disappointment lies in the all-too-abbreviated repertoire unearthed by our efforts. We are sure that there must be many more children's books in print that meet REASON's criteria. Unfortunately, we can not think of any better way to identify them for the benefit of the parents. Several REASON readers submitted titles (see box) of books they found commendable, but these books were not submitted for review by their publishers.

Well, maybe some other time we can make a bigger catch. [r]

John McClaughry is president of the Institute for Libery and Community in Concord, Vermont.

CHILDREN'S BOOKS RECOMMENDED BY REASON READERS

The Carrot Seed. Ruth Krauss. Scholastic Book Services, 1971. Ages 5-8.
Ben Goes into Business. Marilyn Hirsh. Holiday House, 1973. Ages 6-10. $4.95.
The Toothpaste Millionaire. Jean Merrill. Houghton Mifflin, 1974. Ages 7-10. $6.95.
The Man Who Made Fine Tops. Marie Winn. Simon & Schuster, 1970. Ages 5-8. $2.95.
A Mouse To Be Free. Joyce W. Warren. Sea Cliff Press, 1973. Ages 6-9. Avon Paperback, 1975. $1.25.
Nobody's Family is Going to Change. Louise Fitzhugh. Dell, 1975. Ages 7-10. $1.50 (paper).
Lift Her Up Tenderly. Robert LeFevre. Pine Tree Press, 1976. Ages 8-10. $6.95.
Anatole. Eve Titus. McGraw Hill, 1956. Ages 3-6. $5.95.

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IF THERE'S BEEN NO VICTIM THEN THERE'S BEEN NO CRIME

REPEAL ALL LAWS RESTRICTING INDIVIDUAL LIBERTY

SIMON JESTER #109

TANSTAAFL
(THERE AIN'T NO SUCH THING AS A FREE LUNCH)

WHICH MEANS IF YOU WANT THE GOVERNMENT TO DO SOMETHING, THEY'RE EITHER GOING TO TAKE MONEY FROM YOU TO DO IT OR TAKE IT FROM SOMEONE ELSE.
—WHICH MAKES YOU EITHER: (1) A FOOL OR (2) A THIEF

SIMON JESTER #110

DON'T BE FOOLED!

THE GOVERNMENT IS NOT "OUR SERVANT"
THE GOVERNMENT IS NOT "THE COUNTRY"
THE GOVERNMENT IS NOT "THE PEOPLE"

THE GOVERNMENT IS AN AGENCY OF FORCE WHICH TAXES OUR INCOMES IN EXCHANGE FOR REGULATING OUR LIVES.

SIMON JESTER #111

RESISTING AUTHORITY IS AN
AMERICAN HERITAGE
PASS IT ON TO YOUR GRANDCHILDREN

SIMON JESTER #113

LIBERTARIANISM
UNRESTRICTED LIBERTY
IN THOUGHT AND ACTION

SIMON JESTER #114

PUBLIC PROPERTY
STOLEN THIS PROPERTY WAS EITHER CONFISCATED FROM IT'S RIGHTFUL OWNERS OR WAS BOUGHT WITH STOLEN MONEY—TAXES. PLEASE STOP ASKING FOR THINGS AND MAYBE THE GOVERNMENT WILL STOP STEALING. IF THERE'S REALLY A NEED, SOMEONE WILL MAKE MONEY FILLING IT.—AT LESS TOTAL COST THAN HAVING THE GOVERNMENT DO IT.

SIMON JESTER #116

BOUNDARY RESISTANCE

CLAUSTROPHOBIA

SPACE MIGRATION/LIFE EXTENSION/LIBERTARIANISM

Feel a little trapped by statism, gravity, and death? Getting a little tired of politics, dummies and the feeling that whatever you do will make no difference to you 100 years from now anyway? Well, help is on the way.

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L-5 News: Monthly newsletter for the international L-5 Society. Summaries and original articles on studies investigating the practicality and economic viability of various means of colonizing near-earth space with existing technology. $20/year.

Foundation Report: Published by the Foundation Institute, engineering consultants for private space ventures. Developments and applications of techniques for private space flight. Monthly. $20/year.

New Libertarian: Monthly magazine of the most individualistic, pioneering movement in existence. News, philosophy, reviews, calendar of events, science-fiction column. Self-liberation - not politics. $12/year.

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On Tolerance and Humility

viewpoint

Alan Reynolds

Back in 1971, the Society for Individual Liberty published an essay or two in defense of "ideological purity" that struck me as rather presumptuous, but they declined to print my answer. In a symbolic gesture, they dropped the word "rational" from the title of their magazine *Rational Individualist,* and proceeded to publish Murray Rothbard's unbalanced assault on Milton Friedman. Attempts by David Friedman and me to reply to Rothbard were rejected, so I sent the piece to a journal that Rosalie Nichols had mentioned—REASON. Roy Childs, then editor of *Individualist*, wrote to REASON, essentially pleading with them not to publish my piece. They didn't listen, so here I am.

Now, we have Edith Efron ["Viewpoint," February] urging a boycott of Ed Crane's *Inquiry* and Roy Childs' *Libertarian Review* for reasons that leave me almost as uneasy as those earlier attempts to narrow the range of debate, purge the opposition, and license the definition of "libertarian." Yet there is enough substance in what she says to warrant close examination.

The great virtue of REASON has been its willingness to open its pages to a reasonably broad variety of interpretations of applied libertarian thought, and to serve as an entry point for new writers (myself in 1971). These virtues have been the source of the journal's strength, and its ability to outlive several libertarian journals that have come and gone in the past few years. The others, by contrast, typically served as vehicles for advancing the similar views of a rather narrow sub-set of established authors.

The whole idea of a cult of individualists is patently absurd, yet such cults clearly do exist. Edith Efron endorses Ayn Rand's description of libertarians as "a random collection of emotional hippies-of-the-right who seek to play at politics without philosophy or consistency." Yet that seems as petty a generalization as labeling classical liberals (Friedman) as "statists," or (as Efron did in *The Alternative*) ascribing to all conservatives the collective opinions that James Burnham arbitrarily hung on them years ago. Indeed, the danger of lumping diverse ideas under any label is that it may provide a convenient excuse for ignoring those that may sound intuitively distasteful.

An informed libertarian should surely read Rand, Rothbard and Friedman, and also Burke, Marx and Keynes. There is nothing to be feared from exposure to many sources of knowledge, and there is enough brilliance in all of these sources to reward the time invested in understanding what they have to say.

Efron's central theme is that libertarians should not make political alliances with those opposed to economic freedom and in favor of egalitarian coercion. They should instead recognize their ancestry as children of relatively libertarian "conservatives," and strengthen their bonds with the so-called "neo-conservatives." As a tactical matter, I am in complete agreement, although I am not too happy with her vague supporting remarks about "the necessity of a national culture, the value of a government," and all that.

Yet there are also threads of individualist ethics used, however inconsistently, by those civil libertarians who have been habitually allied with collectivist economics. And it does seem tempting to try to bend that sort of disenchantment with statism into a comparable position with regard to voluntary economic choices. When it has been tried in the past, however, as in a defunct journal called something like *Left and Right*, the compromises always seemed to pull in a leftward (statist) direction.

Having not seen *Libertarian Review*, I'll confine my comments to a couple of April issues of *Inquiry*. I, too, have been asked to write for *Inquiry*, and to avoid those risky "buzzwords"—"capitalism, the free market, and the price system." The journal describes itself as "outspoken," but there are those modest constraints.

The Left, apparently, has a freer hand. Peter Schrag is free to lambast "agents of corporate capitalism." No buzzwords there. Marcus Raskin can blast "connections between the rich and the powerful" and bless Andrew Young's support of "liberation movements" and "higher taxes for the rich." Jim Morrel can complain about IMF loans to South Africa and Chile, yet beef about US opposition to similar loans for that citadel of human rights, Vietnam. And it's okay for Stephen Arons to quote brilliant remarks about "competitive and warring economic enterprise."

Let's be fair. There is some good stuff here. A nice little piece on "Defecting to the Private Schools," a plausible critique of the Criminal Code Reform bill, a "Diary of a Polish Dissident" which could scarcely be described (in Efron's words) as "anti-anti-communism." But there are also some unconvincing bits of conspiratorial gossip: "Could it be that David Truong—an ambitious and by some accounts manipulative—operator... fell into a trap the government had wanted to spring for years?"

On balance, *Inquiry* seems a little light on analysis or evidence, a bit heavy on unsupported rhetoric and opinion. I find it dull so far, but others might not.

Above all, I see no risk that *Inquiry* is, as Ms. Efron worries, "going to represent libertarians to the... intellectual community." For one thing, the word "libertarian" is one of those frightening catchwords that have been purged from its pages. For another, it just isn't a libertarian magazine. Although Efron hints that the editor planned "to smuggle in a little free-market economics," (even *Harper's* does that) there isn't a word of it in the two issues I have seen (can't fault them, really, since I *was* invited). If the magazine has a theme, it seems to be isolationism, but isolationists, by definition, are not interested in reading about global political and military affairs. The rest is mostly filler.

Still, I am put off by Ms. Efron's instruction that libertarians "refuse" to buy or contribute to *Inquiry*. I might buy the thing if they put more substance into it. I certainly see no reason for refusing to write for any journal. The readers of *The Progressive* or *Village Voice*, for example,

(Continued on p. 49)

taxes

Maximizing Your Deductions

When it comes to saving money on income tax, there is one form that every taxpayer should at least take a shot at: Schedule A—Itemized Deductions.

I've found that when it comes to "itemizing," many people simply throw up their hands and say to hell with it. After all, complexity helps the tax collectors, and they're not really all that interested in simplifying things for us. But this needn't be the case, if you'll just sit down with a good tax book and carefully go through the different deduction possibilities.

The people responsible for the tax laws decided from the very beginning of the income tax that everyone should get certain deductions: you can either go the "general" route and take the "standard deduction" which is now taken into consideration in the tax tables, or you can "itemize" your deductions if you have more than would be given to you with the standard.

Itemized deductions are reported on Schedule A where the different areas of deductions are laid out. If you count up more itemized deductions on Schedule A than you'd get using the standard deduction, then you'll use Schedule A.

Of course, there's no way to tell if you can "beat the standard deduction" until you actually go through Schedule A, so everyone should at least *try* it each year at income tax time. This is a problem faced by tax consultants as well, although they can generally nail down the answer with about a dozen well-placed questions. The trick is knowing what the personal deductions are and how much you must find to make itemizing worthwhile for your filing status.

Although the numbers change almost yearly because of congressional tinkering, these are the amounts you needed to exceed in 1977 to make itemizing worthwhile:

- "Single" or "unmarried head of household": $2,200
- "Jointly" (married) or "qualifying widow(er) with dependent child": $3,200
- "Married, filing separately": $1,600

If you can't find enough *itemized* deductions to exceed the amount for your filing status, you'll do better by simply taking the standard deduction.

What are the areas you can make money on by itemizing? There are six general sections on Schedule A. Within each section there are many, often scores, of possibilities. Let's go through each.

First, you start up in the upper-left corner of the Schedule A on the "Medical and Dental Expenses" portion. This is the most complicated part of the Schedule A, which is why it is placed at the beginning of the form: its complexity tends to discourage people from itemizing. The IRS likes that.

Within this area you may take deductions for any and every expense having to do with medical concerns. What kinds of things? Take a look in your medicine cabinent: cold medicines, cough syrup, Q-tips, salves, iodine, adhesive tape, bandages, Band-aids, thermometers... the list goes on.

And then there are those visits to the doctor and dentist, deductible across the board. Hospitalization. Psychological counseling. Dental expenses. Optometrists. Glasses. Nursing care. Lab fees. Birth control pills. X-rays. And much more, limited only by your personal circumstances.

The second area of the Schedule A concerns "taxes." That is, state and local taxes (only) are deductible. This includes state income taxes, property taxes, state gasoline taxes, sales taxes, personal property taxes and others. Most of the specific taxes each have a line, so you can list each one out as you hit it.

At the bottom left side of the Schedule A, you'll next find the "interest expense" section. *All* the interest you pay out during the year is deductible. People tend not to understand the implications of this: you probably pay interest in half a dozen places that you wouldn't even think of unless a tax man ferreted out the information during an interview.

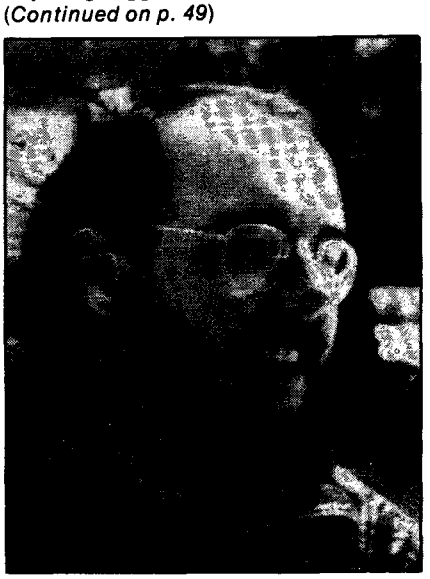
Consider these common interest expenses: house payments, installment sales, credit sales of all types, credit *card* payments, personal loans, credit union loans, property payments other than on your home, car payments. There are lots of others; the problem is you have to think of them all. To figure the amount of interest you paid someone over the year, simply call the organization and ask them; usually that won't be necessary however, since most businesses send a statement in January saying "keep this for income tax purposes." On that statement they tell you how much interest (or "finance charges," or "money use payments" or whatever) you paid during the preceding year.

Now you can jump to the upper right side of Schedule A to deal with the "contributions" area. Contributions include anything you've given of value (except your time, which you cannot deduct for) to any non-profit type organization. The head of the IRS has a list of "officially approved" charitable organizations, but in practice you can figure just about every charitable organization you know of is legitimate for this purpose.

Such organizations include your church, Goodwill, Salvation Army, Boy and Girl Scouts, March of Dimes, etc. There are hundreds and hundreds. If you gave property donations—such as clothes, shoes, old furniture, etc.—don't let that scare you. Just jot down the articles you gave (generally), tell who you gave them to, when you gave them, and estimate their worth. That's a deduction. You can also deduct the cost of running your car for charitable purpose at the rate of 7 cents a mile—that means if you drive a thousand miles over the year for a charity, you'll get a $70 deduction, which will at least pay for gas.

You next move down to the "Casualty or Theft Loss(es)" area. The IRS has worked up a set of computations used here so as to absolutely minimize any deduction. Nevertheless, if you had a loss from any "sudden and unexpected" occurrence—and it wasn't reimbursed by insurance—you'll get a deduction. Such losses include fire, theft, auto wrecks, storm damage, fire damage, earthquakes, hurricanes, etc. Think about it: if you had anything happen that cost you money or

(*Continued on p. 49*)



Tim Condon

spotlight

Educator for Freedom

"People say that libertarians are impractical, idealistic, on cloud nine... but that is exactly what the world needs—an idealist's position."
—ROBERT T. LEFEVRE

Vitality emanates from Robert LeFevre, who, at the age of 66, retains his status as author, teacher, businessman, and libertarian extraordinaire. "Libertarian ideas have been in the atmosphere since Plato," declares LeFevre, "and I was thinking in terms of freedom, without knowing it, in my childhood."

LeFevre was born in Idaho and raised in Minneapolis, Minnesota in a free-enterprise-oriented family. His father was conservative both economically and politically, and strongly believed in the private management of private property.

As a young newsboy who delivered papers to help support himself, LeFevre's heroes were Ernest Thompson Seton—whose naturalist books inspired an early fascination with animals—and Hugo Gernsback, whose science fiction works first stimulated LeFevre's inclination for creative writing. LeFevre's initial ambition was to become a naturalist; he is still fond of all kinds of animals and has been a vegetarian all his life. As a youth, LeFevre considered the possibility of writing animal stories as his vocation, thereby combining his two favorite interests, but as he matured he became more intrigued with people than animals, and the art of communication emerged as an appealing avenue for exploration.

During World War II, LeFevre witnessed a kind of communication that was not at all appealing and he was painfully educated to the value of liberty. Freedom ideas became a genuine concern for him during the war and directly afterward, especially since a number of the federal government's regulatory war measures were not removed when the war was over. "I protested this," remembers LeFevre, "and I was rudely awakened to the realization that values I had viewed as intrinsically American were not intrinsic at all. Politicians were doing things they had promised not to do and yet I, and not they, was regarded almost as subversive."

Other forces that influenced LeFevre's commitment to freedom were Rose Wilder Lane and her volume, *The Discovery of Freedom*, and his association with the Foundation for Economic Education. A reinforcement of another sort occurred when LeFevre ran for the US Congressional seat in Los Angeles' 14th District in 1950. He had been drawn away from his lucrative business career by the economic orientation of the United States, an orientation that LeFevre considered to be a dangerous Marxist drift toward socialism. He ran as a Republican in an overwhelmingly Democratic area and his subsequent loss, in a campaign LeFevre felt was sabotaged, convinced him that freedom had to be sought in the private arena.

LeFevre's quest for a viable alternative caused him to read extensively, brought him in touch with many intelligent people, and culminated in the establishment of the Freedom School. LeFevre founded the Freedom School to provide an environment conducive to the expression of

Robert LeFevre

the principles of freedom and free enterprise: "I felt the true merit of these ideas could be revealed only by in-depth study," says LeFevre. He had planned only to start the school and allow an academician to run it, but the idea of a "freedom" school was so innovative that LeFevre became President, chief fund raiser, and the primary teacher. The Freedom School opened in 1957 and operated for a number of years, but was virtually destroyed by a storm in 1965. The costs of rebuilding were prohibitive and LeFevre was forced to give up the school.

Moving to California, LeFevre opened Rampart College as a non-campus institution to continue the work of the Freedom School. For nearly 10 years Rampart College served as one of the leading disseminators of libertarian philosophy on the West Coast, offering courses (in person and on tape), books, and pamphlets — and publishing a short-lived magazine called *Pine Tree* (later changed to *Rap*). Rampart personnel played key roles in organizing a series of libertarian conferences in the early 1970's that are credited with creating the Southern California libertarian movement. LeFevre left Rampart in 1975, and it closed its doors the following year. Its extensive library has been sold to the Northwood Institute of Cedar Hills, Texas.

LeFevre's career includes many other areas of involvement, especially media. He has been a disc jockey, a newsman, the news director for a television station, and an editorial writer for the *Colorado Springs Gazette Telegraph*, of which he was also editor-in-chief for five years. From 1954 to 1965 LeFevre's output was 1600 words daily, all of which was published in various editorials for Freedom Newspapers. LeFevre had also begun to write books about politics and libertarianism: *The Power of Congress, The Nature of Man and His Government, This Bread Is Mine, The Philosophy of Ownership, Constitutional Government in the Soviet Union*, and *The Libertarian* are among his works. One of his volumes, *Lift Her Up Tenderly*, is an economic dialogue between an older man and a young girl attempting to establish a fundamental philosophy of life based upon free enterprise.

LeFevre is still writing and has now expanded into the fields of fiction and science fiction (see his "Return From the Stars," REASON, May 1978). He continues to promulgate his libertarian ideals, conducting seminars for the management personnel of various companies. He is usually booked solidly a year in advance. He also publishes a quarterly newsletter, *LeFevre's Journal*, which is supported by the voluntary contributions of 10,000 readers, but plans to discontinue it at the end of the current year so that he can write more fiction.

At 66 LeFevre shows no signs of slowing down and has more vitality than many teenagers. "I love being alive, I love my work," claims LeFevre, "and I am lucky enough to do what I like and get paid for it. I am grateful to all of the politicians who have fouled things up so badly that I will have a job to do all my life."

Ellen Murphy

washington watch

Education Tax Credits

Education tax credits remain the best opportunity in this session of Congress for a victory with which libertarians can feel really comfortable. It will not be an easy one. The public education establishment and its allies in government and the media have mounted an impressive lobbying campaign against it. Perhaps they feel the same sorts of possibilities are inherent in any scheme to allow people more freedom of choice in education which some of us feel, except in reverse.

Letters to your Congressman and Senators are very important at this juncture. The education lobby is able to generate tremendous amounts of mail, and they have legislation, the Administration proposal for more grants and scholarships, which they can claim will give parents some relief from the high cost of education. However many legislators can see the superiority of a simple tax credit system compared to adding yet another layer of bureaucracy and spending more taxpayers' money. They may need only a few letters on the tax credit side to counterbalance the organization-generated mail on the other side. But they may be getting little mail on that side now, compared with a large volume from the teachers unions and their allies. So your letter could be extremely important.

(US Senate, Washington, DC, 20510; US House of Representatives, Washington, DC 20515.)

Gun Control by the Back Door?

The US Treasury's Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, and Firearms has published a proposed regulation, scheduled to go into effect May 22, which looks like a big move toward national registration of all firearms. The regulations, if they are allowed to go into effect, would require all transactions of firearms within existing federally licensed commerce to be reported quarterly to the BATF. This involves 688,000 quarterly reports a year from licensed dealers (at a cost to dealers of about $8 million per year), and computerizing between 35 and 40 million firearms transactions each year.

In 1975 the Treasury Department told Congress that it should not act to centralize existing records without new authority from Congress. At that time, BATF estimated it could trace a firearm in 27 minutes if the priority were high enough. The only justification for this centralization is expansion of bureaucratic authority and a real desire to register firearms.

Many people are speculating that this move is Carter's means of putting *de facto* gun registration in place without having to get a vote for it in Congress. This may not be formal gun registration, but if it looks like a duck, walks like a duck and quacks like a duck....

Congress can act to nullify these regulations if there is enough pressure. Please write to your Congressman and Senators protesting the new BATF firearms regulations.

Humphrey-Hawkins

The House passed the final version of the Humphrey-Hawkins national economic planning bill in March, and the Senate Human Resources Committee is now working on a Senate version. The amendments passed in the House indicated Congressmen are really living in fantasyland, dreaming that the economy will respond as desired if only you pass laws mandating progress. An amendment to set a specific inflation goal of 3% was replaced by one with vaguer wording. An amendment proposed by James Jeffords (R-VT) did prevent the Administration from using public service jobs as real jobs in figuring unemployment levels. But another amendment would include maintenance of farm income at 100% parity as one of the goals of Humphrey-Hawkins. Amendments which failed in the House but may be brought up in the Senate include a requirement for tax cuts, a balanced budget, and one which changes the reporting of unemployment to a system more closely resembling reality.

The important point to get across, in letters to Senators, is that Humphrey-Hawkins embodies several basic fallacies, and is not capable of being perfected by amendment. The notion that the federal government should assume paternalistic responsibility is widespread, but nonetheless wrongheaded, not to mention being one of the major sources of the economy's present travails. Humphrey-Hawkins, besides the enormous expense involved, would enshrine in law the germinal institutions of centralized economic planning. Similar types of planning, whether compulsory or "indicative" have proven disastrous in other countries.

Without more effective opposition, I am afraid Humphrey-Hawkins will pass in a relatively noxious form. There is still a chance that the Senate will "committee it to death" and not vote on it this year. But Senators need to hear from the opposition. If Humphrey-Hawkins passes, we will pay for it dearly in years to come.

Airline Regulatory Reform

The Senate has passed the Kennedy airline regulatory reform bill, in a slightly stronger version than that brought forward by the Commerce Committee. This action places a bit of heat on the House Aviation Subcommittee, which has been sitting on a similar bill. There seems to have been some motion in the House in the last month or so, but letters to your Congressman would be especially helpful.

Incidentally, Rep. Elliott Levitas (D-GA) who proposed the substitute which would call for little reform now but abolition of the CAB in 1983, professes to be horrified that people saw this as a ploy to derail the reform movement. He really is sincere about wanting to abolish the CAB, he claims. This is encouraging, but one must doubt whether Congress would really let it happen unless the climate of opinion changes dramatically between now and 1983 (which we hope it will, of course, but one can't be sure.)

A What?

Rep. John Breckenridge (D-KY) thinks we need a horse census. He's pushing a bill to require the Agriculture Dept. to take a count of both farm and nonfarm horses to help the horse industry know what its market is.

The American Horse Protection League, which tries to prevent commercial exploitation of horses, opposes the bill, noting that it would cost taxpayers about $2.5 million per year to do market surveys for the horse industry.

Contrary to rumors, the bill does not stipulate that the census will be taken by counting the legs and dividing by four.

Alan Bock

LUCIFER'S LEXICON

by L. A. Rollins

addictive, *adj. Having an inelastic demand curve.*

overdose, *n. Too much of a good thing.*

school spirit, *n. Ardent loyalty to the school one is forced to attend.*

movies

• Straight Time • Semi-Tough • The Betsy • The One and Only

• One of the few "heavy" films thus far in 1978, **STRAIGHT TIME** is well scripted and deftly acted by Dustin Hoffman and others. Its direction is low-keyed, and often a sense of dramatic propulsiveness is lost in meandering chit-chat (largely among members of the criminal underworld), which does, however, add some atmospheric touches. One could argue plausibly that it was best handled in this way. At any rate, this is not the film's main problem—which is that one quickly loses sympathy for the central character. After he commits a few stickups while on parole and kills out of pure vengeance, one realizes that far from being a misunderstood ex-adolescent, he was brutally vicious all along and would have gone back to crime with or without benefit of a parole officer. One tends to lose much of one's interest in a film if after the first half hour one no longer cares much whether the central character lives or dies.

One would not see this film for amusement: aside from a few moments of sick comedy it is almost unrelievedly depressing. One would not go for aesthetic experience, since it is not that masterful a work of art. If anything, one would go for information and insight into the lives of prisoners on parole. If the film is supposed to give us insight into the *mind* of even one such character, it is not very successful—it isn't easy to fathom what is going through the protagonist's mind as he robs stores and banks. If it is supposed to enlist sympathy for the plight of ex-prisoners under the restrictions of parole (which would have been a highly legitimate enterprise), it is still less successful, since the characters chosen apparently didn't deserve even parole. Whether intentionally or not, the message that does clearly come through is "never trust an ex-con," for—one after another—every one of those depicted in this film, even under the slightest pressure, slips quickly and easily back into a life of crime. In the film the rate of recidivism is 100 percent, which unfortunately is only a few percentage points higher than it is in real life.

—John Hospers

• To have your girlfriend marry your best friend is, to put it mildly, **SEMI-TOUGH.** It's supposed to be about professional football, but this is only an occasional backdrop to the theme of the picture, which is a love-with-feigned-indifference triangle involving Burt Reynolds, Kris Kristofferson, and Jill Clayburgh, as well as Robert Preston as the girl's father. The actors are at their relaxed best in this film, and part of the time, at least, one enjoys watching their shenanigans as they meander from one incident to another.

As in its equally foul-mouthed predecessor, *Slap Shot*, the humor is coarse but authentic. There is one scene that is hilariously funny, involving a large group-therapy session in which various bits of verbal mumbo-jumbo are supposed to act as catalysts to release the patients' pent-up emotions (if any). However it may have been intended, it comes off as a raucous travesty of the real thing. The remainder of the film, including the plot, is readily forgettable within a few minutes after leaving the theater. But for escapist entertainment one could do worse.

—J.H.

• **THE BETSY** is not a worthy vehicle for the talents of Laurence Olivier, although his role, covering a wide spectrum of emotions, is a meaty one, and it is always a pleasure to see him in whatever role he plays. That he has the starring role in this film is the best single thing about it.

The failure of the film is more the fault of Harold Robbins' book, on which it is based, than of the cinematic treatment itself. The flashbacks to 1931 and back to 1976 are only mildy irritating, not really confusing. But with scenes of every kind juxtaposed with no apparent regard for their cumulative effect, the total result is so dispersed as to leave no powerful thrust in any one direction. Even when individual scenes are intense and well done, their effect is lost in the whole. Some of the motivation, too, is murky: if the only reason why No. 1 (Olivier) voted to stop production of the car he designed was to save the life of his favorite employee (Tommy Lee Jones), why does he still want to hold back production after that employee has become his rival and enemy?

That it takes years of training and effort to design and build improved automobiles is not a fact of which the viewer of this film is made aware, even though the ostensible subject of the film is the attempt to mass-produce for the American public a superior car which will get 60 miles to the gallon. There is one good scene (a board meeting) in which the carmakers fight the increasing demands of government bureacracy, but it is so brief as to have little impact and nothing like it turns up in the film again. The strongest impressions left with the viewer are (1) that automobile tycoons lead very flaky sex lives, and (2) that all the really important men in industry have their own Mafia which they can use to inflict their will when push comes to shove.

If these two features were the only ones that distinguished inventors and designers from other people, no cars would ever have got built; but not once is any such fact brought to the viewer's attention during this film. That carmakers have to be achievers in a highly competitive market is hardly even suggested; that they are rich wastrels who ought to have it taken away from them, come the revolution, is something the viewer after seeing the film will be much more likely to sympathize with. The film could well be used in the Soviet Union to confirm all their propaganda about the evils of American capitalism; but the bureaucrats there will probably not have the brains to do it.

—J.H.

• Henry Winkler, **THE ONE AND ONLY**, does an engaging and credible portrayal, in the leading role, of a basically insecure person who overcompensates by telling the world how great he is. His zaniness is quite different from that of the character he portrays on television; both actor and script-writer appear to have thought out the role better than in most current comedies. His wife-fiance is also believable, though much less clearly delineated. After that point, however, the characterizations tend to become caricatures, especially her parents. Caricature, especially when carried to extremes, doesn't produce very effective comedy, as the comic greats from Chaplin and Keaton on long ago discovered.

The film isn't really all that funny. Nor is it deep or probing. Nor does it make a point of any significance. It tells a semi-comic, semi-melodramatic story with one character at least with whom one can empathize to a limited extent. The script and direction are adequate without being in any way noteworthy. The most that can be said for the film is that it is mildly entertaining from time to time. Still, it's a lot better than staying home and watching television, even Winkler's own series.

—J.H.

books

Living with Equals: An Individualist's Guide to Romantic and Emotional Happiness

By Jerry Klasman
New York: Delacorte. 1976. 141 pp. $6.95.

Psychuous Sex Guaranteed for Life by Using the Advanced Concepts of Romantic Love

By Frank Wallace
Wilmington, Delaware: I & O Publishing. 1976. 454 pp. $12.95 (paper).

Understanding Your Feelings and Emotions

By Paul Thomas Young
Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall. 1975. 192 pp. $7.95/$3.95.

Reviewed by Stephen Barone

Just like lemmings must go to sea, once in a long while practicing psychologists must dive into the mire of literature called "pop psychology"—that genre of book that translates the latest psychotherapeutic hocus-pocus into *the formula* for Happiness, Big Bucks, or the Girl(s) of your Dreams. A lot of these books make the bestseller lists, but this psychologist's latest excursion into what they are packaging for lay consumption concerns the three lesser-known books listed above. The first two deal with interpersonal relationships as they may occur across sexes. Young's *Understanding* concerns itself chiefly with defining emotions in scientifically "respectable" terms.

Klasman's *Living* makes an aggressive, though less than ambitious, attempt to help the reader define and redefine his or her perceptions of the interpersonal dynamics of romantic relationships. The book draws heavily from the author's own experiences as a therapist and owes a great deal of its conceptual underpinnings to Nathaniel Branden. In for heavy attack are the ideas of *possession* in a relationship, jealousy, monogamous relationships, and marriage.

The dismissal of marriage per se as a legitimate value, within 141 pages, would be a sizable accomplishment and a display of verbal economy, but between the covers of his book Klasman also finds time to introduce such new fangled concepts as "psychological laissez faire" and coercive and natural romantic monopolies and to define and debunk the bulk of Euro-American thought on what a romantic relationship is and what it should be. There's no denying that *Living* is highly engaging material and great fun to read. Nevertheless, the simplicity with which Klasman approaches certain central issues leads one to hope that he meant this work as a prelude to a more detailed dissertation on the subject or to believe (somewhat more pejoratively) that he holds a view of the human romantic condition that is critically oversimplified.

An example of this oversimplification is Klasman's characterization of jealousy as a remnant of a "poacher/predator" mentality. Here he asserts that feelings of jealousy are the net result of an attitude toward or perception of romantic partners as "possessions" and of other persons in the environment as threats—lurking to prey upon the relationship, to steal away feelings, attention, physical love, and the other sorts of attendant behaviors that are usually associated with romantic relationships. He suggests that the whole notion of possession must be scrapped before one can reasonably expect to experience long-lasting and successful relationships.

Although such an idea seems to have a ring of truth, Klasman never fully identifies *how* one goes about purging one's self—and indeed, one's partner—of this seemingly cancerous attitude. The closest he comes to this is to assert with characteristic firmness and brevity: "I realize this attitude (possession) began centuries ago in an age when venereal disease was epidemic and incurable. But the view persists today not in hygienic terms, but in *moral* terms. I sense that although the cult of virginity is in rapid decline and only a small percentage of people concern themselves with their lover's prior sexual history, the discovery that their lovers had sex elsewhere *yesterday* causes a considerable percentage to react as if the organs employed were no longer fit for human use—like rotten eggplant."

Does Klasman believe that the act of identifying for the reader (or client) what is the cause for such an attitude will in itself serve to convince him or her to abandon it? In fact, there is little evidence to show that identifying the supposed cause of a behavior, let alone an *attitude*, does much if anything to alter that behavior or attitude for the client. Also, it is questionable whether or not anthropologists, who make this sort of conjecture their business, would attribute as much import to the knowledge of how venereal diseases spread, regarding the phenomenon of possession, as they would to sex roles, the identification of progeny and lineage, inheritances, and other sociological matters. Either way, assuming that the elimination of the possession concept would enhance the probabilities of successful romantic relationships of long duration, he leaves us somewhat up in the air as to how one strips oneself, or the client, of this attitude.

Also, Klasman assumes that possession is an unnecessary outgrowth of romantic relationships, but he does not provide any clear evidence of this assertion. Perhaps *ownership trips* are a necessary or intrinsic part of romantic interpersonal relationships. Certainly there is enough evidence to suggest that this view is *at least* as plausible as the alternative that he puts forth. To wit, a romantic relationship can be behaviorally defined as a select series of actions that occur between two individuals, usually of the opposite sex, that are reserved for persons who choose to enter into that unique sort of interpersonal relationship. These actions include physical love, sharing of personal experiences and information, and certain sorts of intimacies that are not ordinarily made available to other sorts of acquaintances. Each of these actions takes up a degree of time. In that there is X amount of time for Y interactions with the romantic partner, the introduction of another person who relates to one's partner in a similarly romantic way greatly increases the probability that X (time available with one's partner) will be reduced to the detriment of Y (actual instances of interaction with one's partner). In this sense alone, a person who valued such interactions (Y) would display behaviors that are likened to protecting property. Moreover, in speaking, one will say, "My relationship with her...," or "Our relationship is...." Isn't it reasonable that a given person may try to protect his relationship—something he values—by insula-

ting his partner from persons who may be perceived as having a vested interest in eroding that relationship in order to increase the probability of the growth and development of another?

Certainly, it is not suggested that these formulations harbor any more import or plausibility than the ones offered by Klasman. What is offered here is recognition of the fact that the *idea* of possession is not as *crazy* as Klasman would have us believe. Nor is it evident that it can *easily, if at all, be purged from one's* repertoire of responses toward a partner in a romantic interpersonal relationship.

Living has good points that far outweigh its bad ones. Its major flaw is the author's habit of comparing his propositions to paper tigers, as it were. Often, he strikes a dichotomy between what he views as ideal in a relationship and what might have been typical in relationships reminiscent of the 1950's era. Today, however, most persons experience relationships that fall somewhere between Klasman's Nirvana and the ultra-Chauvinism of the early to mid-20th century. *Thus, choices for these persons are not* quite as clear-cut and obvious as Klasman would have us believe. Despite the liberalized mores, it is difficult to dismiss your romantic partner's intimacy with another person.

Living is a fresh look at the human romantic condition. Its biggest virtue is its attempt to deal with romantic emotions in a rational and cognitive way—no one will get the impression from *Living* that "love is blind." It frames many concepts and redefines many attitudes in a way that can be of great use to the critical layman or practitioner when read in conjunction *with other books and articles on the topic.*

Frank R. Wallace, in *Psychuous Sex* etc., has produced a catalogue of sorts, all of it put together, one would assume, to guide Gullible Innocents—a population that is difficult to define, as will be mentioned later—through the jungle. At first glance, the reader is somewhat awed at the task that must have lain before Dr. Wallace. Closer scrutiny of the work is accompanied by the question, *But what for?*

Psychuous, according to the author, "is a new word that refers to any human activity that combines and integrates the rational mind with the emotional self... usually to achieve objective pleasures or happiness." He continues, "The word psychuous recognizes that no basic contradictions exist between the intellectual mind, the emotional mind and the physical body." In these views, obviously, Wallace takes a heavily Randian view.

The book in itself is a rather odd affair. A warning is attached to the cover that reminds the reader of the imperativeness of reading every word in the book—in order—so as to grasp the full meaning of what is being said, reviewed, rated, etc. Yet the pages are perforated so they can be torn out for at-home editing, rearranging, or whatever.

The book consists primarily of seven sections. Section one concerns itself mostly with the definitions of every word in the book's title. Section two contains "capsule summaries" of what are said to be "advanced concepts of romantic love"—ranging from *universal sexual orientation*, defined as "the importance of sex to one's total life," to *penis limpness rate*, a phenomenon hitherto unknown as measurable to the present writer. The third section, according to Wallace, "includes 113 book analyses covering the period from 2 B.C. to 1975 A.D." It provides elaborate codes to reveal whether any particular book is worth the reader's time and even calculates something called a "value minus error index," which is for Wallace's books what the Richter Scale is for earthquakes. Section Four, "The History of Love and Sex," claims to cover the span from 1300 B.C. to 2080 A.D., a rather remarkable achievement, even when one considers that the period

Book Hints

a selective mention of books received

New old books, or recent reprints, of interest: Liberty*Classics* brings us a new edition, with an introduction by Robert Nisbet, of *The Servile State*, Hilaire Belloc's pessimistic and prescient 1912 discussion of the consequences of overlaying capitalism with socialism (Indianapolis, 1977, 207 pp., $8/$2). The more recent, but not unrelated, *Essays on Individuality,* edited by Felix Morley, is reprinted by Liberty*Press* (1977, 380 pp., $8). The book includes 12 essays prepared by Milton Friedman, F. A. Hayek, Richard Weaver, Helmut Schoeck, and others for a 1956 conference addressed to "the problem of man's freedom in the face of modern society's seemingly irresistible urge to socialize and regiment... the individual." In paperback, Rose Wilder Lane's absorbing *Give Me Liberty*—originally a 1936 *Saturday Evening Post* article, "Credo"—is reprinted with an introduction by Robert LeFevre (Mansfield, MO: Laura Ingalls Wilder-Rose Wilder Lane Home Assoc., 1977, 53 pp., $2). Long unavailable, Lysander Spooner's *Vices Are Not Crimes* has also been brought out, with a foreword by Carl Watner and an introduction by Murray Rothbard (Cupertino, CA: TANSTAAFL, 1977, 46 pp., $2.95 paper, qty. discounts). The witty and revealing *Confessions of a Monopolist*, by Frederic C. Howe, originally published in 1902, is reintroduced by Antony Sutton (Dearborn, MI: Alpine Enterprises, 1977, 157 pp., $5.95 paper). In a "new and improved" edition, illustrated for the first time (by Richard Stein), R. W. Grant has reissued his *Tom Smith and His Incredible Bread Machine* (Manhattan Beach, CA: Quandary House, 1978, $5.95, qty. discounts).

Recent books that fall broadly into the self-help category: *Breaking Into Print: How to Get Your Work Published,* by Philip J. Gearing and Evelyn V. Brunson (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1977, $8.95/$3.45). But let the buyer beware—in the section "Polishing Copy," of all places, the authors let slip with: "When your ready to polish *your copy...*" In *Thinking Straight*, Antony Flew employs his literate style and humor to steer the reader away from pitfalls in thinking (Buffalo: Prometheus, 1977, $3.95 paper). Sometimes faddishly occult, sometimes flippantly dismissive, Jerome Ellison nevertheless offers some insight and techniques in *Life's Second Half: The Pleasures of Aging* (Old Greenwich, CT: Devin-Adair, 1978, $8.95). John Richardson, *M.D., and Patricia Griffin, R.N., address their Laetrile Case Histories* to the ultimate consumer of medical treatment, the patient; while the cases are persuasive, the authors are careful to point out that it is not a statistically clean proof of anything (Westlake Village, CA: American Media, 1977, 309 pp., $5.95 paper). *A Manual of Death Education and Simple Burial* discusses emotional, legal, and practical aspects of preparing for and dealing with death, with a final section on bequeathal of body and body parts for medical research or transplants (Burnsville, NC: Celo Press, 1977, $2 paper).

A hint of book hints: "A Decentralist Bookshelf," prepared by John McClaughry, lists 82 books and 15 periodicals with strong decentralist themes—useful to have on hand and pass on to interested friends (Concord, VT: Inst. for Liberty and Community, Jan. 1978, available for a self-addressed stamped envelope).

between 1980 and 2080 is covered in little over a paragraph. The fifth section, "Common Concepts and 62 Fallacies about Sex and Love," seems the most useful in the book, simply listing statements about romantic thought, love, and sex and pairing each with what could be considered an Objectivist response. Section Six brings the reader to "146 Advanced Concepts of Romantic Love." Among other things, this section includes lists of fictional characters that appear in literature and in some of the author's works and that represent some of the concepts or their respective antitheses; excerpts from the author's other works, including his dissertation on the art of playing poker; and definitions of actual concepts. The final section includes letters of correspondence, pronunciation guides, bibliographic notes, a review, and a conclusion. In addition to all this, the better part of $13 will get you numerous tables, charts, indexes, tables of tables, and what have you.

Mr. Wallace has produced an extensive, but I dare say, eccentric work. It is hard to put a finger on its particular worth, however, let alone its marketability. Who would find use for an Objectivist assessment of all the literature that has occurred since pre-Christian times regarding sex, love, and romance? Those who are Objectivists would probably choose to make such assessments on their own. Non-Objectivists are not likely to lay out $12.95 to have such literature evaluated for them.

Perhaps *Psychuous* would be of greater worth if it underwent some extensive editing and style changes. Presently, it is written in an almost evangelical form, more reminiscent of a hard-sell insurance pamphlet than a scholarly work. *Psychuous*, as it presently exists, is a white elephant of questionable import and utility.

Paul Thomas Young's *Understanding Your Feelings and Emotions* is an easily read book that successfully straddles the void between popular reading and academic texts. It is written fluidly in the first person, the author sometimes including anecdotes from his own life to illustrate a point. The book is an attempt to amalgamate what is usually referred to as the *scientific method* and some definitions and formulations of affective human experiences, that is, *emotions.*

Young, in trying to appeal to a wide audience, covers a broad range of topics including perception, consciousness, facial expressions, pleasure, stress, relationships between mood and emotion, attitudes, anger, fear, love, hate, and the cause of such emotions. Competing theories regarding such affective behaviors are reviewed. The book presents a great deal of research in an entertaining and readable way and has 109 bibliographic entries, an unusually large amount for a popular book. Each chapter is preceded by a glossary of terms and their definitions.

The book is of particular import to those who have an interest in understanding and defining affective experiences in a nonsubjective, "scientific" manner. Not all of what Young does is unquestionable. He supports the notion that emotions are a "disturbed process or state" in the organism; for example, he calls the emotion of love "a disturbed emotional state." Such formulations fly in the face of the view that emotions are, or at least can be, natural extensions of cognitive processes. Young pays Freud more respect than modern psychology may want to afford him; he supports such concepts as "the unconscious" and attendant phenomena such as "Freudian slips" and what have you. A remark on page 143 would curl the hair of many REASON readers; under the heading "Social Changes and Problems," Young states that cooperation among humans is always superior to competition.

So there are problems. Nevertheless, Young has produced a comprehensive book that is rich in detail, research, and readability and takes a stab at an important area in psychology.

Mr. Barone works as an educational psychologist in southwestern Wisconsin.

Ninety-Five Percent Is Crap: A Plain Man's Guide to British Politics

By Terry Arthur. Illustrated by Michael Cummings. Beford, England: Libertarian Books, Cranfield Book Service. 1975. 246 pp. £3.50.

Terry Arthur gives us, in this book, a lively, irreverent examination of British politics from an implicitly libertarian perspective. He makes a good case for the overwhelming crappiness of British politics by quoting and commenting upon more than 300 statements made by various British "politicians" over a 19-month period. (I quote the dustjacket: "The word 'politician' is used in a broad sense to include those industrialists, trade unionists and academics who influence political action, political journalists and economists, etc., as well as Ministers and Members of Parliament.") Each of the book's 13 chapters is devoted to a particular type of crap. There is "Newspeak Crap," "Illogical Crap," "Meaningless Crap," "Statistical Crap," "Fashionable Crap," and so on.

Here are a few examples of the sort of thing Arthur does. First, from the chapter "Yes and No Crap":

> The summer soon passes and before you can say Cock Robinson it's election time again. The Tories still don't know whether they should be pro- or anti-miner:
>
> We believe it is right that the unions themselves should accept a significant share of the responsibility for the welfare of the families of men who go on strike, and that the whole burden should not fall on the taxpayer. Equally, it is right that the families of strikers should not suffer unnecessary hardship.
>
> (*Conservative Party Election Manifesto—October 1974*

Let me translate:

(a) The Unions should pay a lot
(b) The striker's family must not suffer
(c) We will talk about it some more

And, from "Contradictory Crap":

> The Rehabilitation of Offenders' Act answers a real need. It allows certain offenders who have gone straight for a period of years to respond truthfully that they had never been convicted of a criminal offence.
>
> (*Adam Raphael—Guardian, December 15, 1974*)
>
> Oh what a tangled web we weave. He was convicted, but he wasn't convicted. Switch "truthfully" to "untruthfully" and there is the truth!

In a similar manner, alternating crappy quotations and snappy commentary, Arthur touches on numerous subjects, including inflation ("a political counterfeiting racket"), tax loopholes, immigration, "consumer protection," price controls, and the fallacy of the human rights-property rights dichotomy. In the process he makes many sensible points.

The book, unfortunately, has a number of flaws that detract somewhat from its value as a critique of political verbiage. In addition to making a few factual errors, Arthur is sometimes an incompetent linguistic analyst. For example, Arthur ought to know the difference between redundancy and meaninglessness, but his comments on the expression "social justice" (p. 8) suggest that he does *not.*

But, despite some lapses, *Ninety-Five Per Cent Is Crap* presents a convincing indictment of the culprits who have transformed Great Britain into Mediocre Britain.

Arlo N. Sill

frontlines

Looking Ahead

Ten years ago, in the middle of the Vietnam war and the mushrooming of government programs under the Great Society War on Poverty, the least likely turn of events imaginable seemed to be the self-aware development of a libertarian movement. Today I would point to two elements which indicate the trend has turned. Small as it may seem, the word "libertarian" has increasingly come to be used to describe our political and philosophical point of view. Because of the confusion which surrounds the discussion of ideas in all but the most careful academic writings, the agreement on a labeling convention is exceptionally important.

The other trend element which I think will make a critical difference in the next 20 years is the growing middle class awareness that government is preying on them. The presidential campaign of Jimmy Carter was launched with an anti-Washington theme, and although we know this was phony now, it is important to remember that it worked at the time. The Moynihan-Packwood proposal for tuition tax credits is rocketing through Congress on a deeply felt middle-class response to rising taxation. Demographically, the middle-age segment of our society will soon outnumber both the elderly and youth cohorts of the population; this is the taxpaying segment.

Predictions of a libertarian victory in the near future are fanciful, and one problem the Libertarian Party in particular faces is the frank disbelief with which supposedly realistic business and community leaders respond. Considering the larger role which corporate political action committees are beginning to assume in campaign financing, I hope a financial link can be forged between some LP campaign and some corporations' public education programs. There is certainly a lot of corporate money spent these days on educating the public about the virtues of "free enterprise" (and most of it goes to waste.)

The deregulation movement has made massive strides in the past 10 years, and it will go quite a bit farther. There is a large residue of public confusion about deregulaton, however, which centers on the difference between economic regulation and safety or health regulation. Although safety and health regulation need not be governmentally imposed, most people today have bought the idea that they must. Economic regulation, on the other hand, is a pure rip-off, and libertarians should be able to make some gains. I have always thought that a campaign might be successful to push for a constitutional amendment which says that anyone at any time should be able to lower prices or have free entry into an industry. With inflation beginning to accelerate again, a movement for a constitutional amendment might be timely.

Inflation is a great libertarian issue. Ludwig von Mises once wrote that during the 19th century, most people who voted for the classical liberals knew nothing about their program except that they supported the gold standard. We could do this again. The gold bug movement was fairly visible back in 1973-74, when the price trends (and the legal situation) made the libertarian position speculatively profitable, but the basis for a long-run pro-gold campaign would require more than that flash in the pan. The development of a gold trading underground economy would be a very significant political institution, both for anti-inflation and anti-taxation effects.

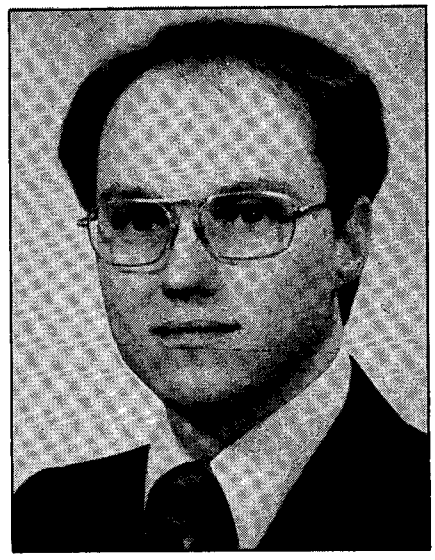
POLICY ANALYSIS GROUPS

Probably the most valuable development in the past 10 years has been the growth of several new policy analysis groups with a libertarian or quasi-libertarian orientation. The **American Enterprise Institute**, 1150 Seventeenth St., NW, Washington, DC 20036, has become one of the most significant policy analysis organizations in Washington. In economic and social policy, the AEI is generally libertarian—with due regard for "gradualism." Viewed as a defensive institution, the AEI can be relied upon to publish a number of authoritative studies whenever some anti-libertarian Congressman or Senator comes up with a new idea.

Somewhat more distant from immediate policy, but possibly more significant in the long run for just that reason is the **Law and Economics Center** at the University of Miami School of Law, P.O. Box 248000, Coral Gables, FL 33124. In a very few years, the Law and Economics Center has already produced an important group of programs, from its regular degree-granting process to the publications of its faculty to its economics institutes for federal judges. Prof. F. A. Hayek wrote in the first volume of his *Law, Legislation and Liberty* that the economic ignorance of the legal profession has probably done more damage to the cause of liberty than any other social phenomenon. The Law and Economics Center, therefore, may correct more damage in the long run than any other policy analysis group.

The **Center for Libertarian Studies**, 200 Park Avenue South, Suite 911, New York, NY 10003, is actively pursuing some of the best academic work in libertarian theory today. Through its annual Libertarian Scholars Conference, the CLS brings together some of the most significant research of libertarians from around the world. The 1977 conference on "Crime and Punishment: Restitution, Retribution and Law" has been published as a book.

The **Cato Institute**, 1700 Montgomery Street, San Francisco, CA 94111, has initiated a number of programs in the past year, including *Inquiry* magazine, a campus-oriented action program, and a series of current events commentaries for radio presenting a three-way viewpoint: conservative, liberal, and libertarian. A central element in the Cato approach to furthering the libertarian movement is its low profile initiatives. Every libertarian in a position to comment on public policy could learn from this: all that is necessary to legitimize the libertarian approach is to elevate its policy perspective to a par with liberalism, and discuss both approaches as co-equal alternatives. The comparative advantage which statist liberalism has enjoyed in the past century has been its reformist zeal and its underlying ethical claims; I believe it is safe to say that these advantages have now passed to the libertarian movement.



Joe Cobb

Coming Next Month

These days the greatest threat to economic progress for blacks and other minorities is... the federal government. This strong charge is made—and supported—by Temple University economist Walter Williams (who happens to be black) in our August issue. But liberal hypocrisy is not limited to domestic affairs. Louis Segesvary reviews the appalling lack of public attention paid to the plight of millions of Cambodians while so much outrage was being directed at the governments of South Korea, Chile, and Rhodesia. Another challenge to prevailing opinions comes from economist Philip Gramm, who reviews the "doomsday syndrome" and its fallacies. Gary North returns to REASON's pages with a bitterly humorous account of what it's like to serve on a Congressional staff. Satirist Peter Fasolino responds with a proposal the Congress might take to heart. Also in this issue: Edith Efron's Viewpoint, Mark Tier on Money, and reviews of several new books on antitrust.

letters

(Continued from p. 9)

made a serious mistake in the column, calling on the "leaderless, rudderless group" to get it together. Everyone may agree with her, but who the hell is going to jump in with *that* bunch?

Not me, for sure: I've got my leaders and rudders all together. It's just that they haven't been performing so up to par lately. With Efron's help, the battle will be joined again. You silly-putty anarchists out there who've been so eager to serenade the Left, just relax and look around. Quite comfortable. Very fashionable. You'll rarely get blasted in a major way.

But when the Left takes over and institutes the total State—which is what they've always aimed for—you guys will be the most surprised to find that... why... they were never on your side at all. Suckers.

Tim Condon
Gainesville, FL

Letters from readers are welcome. Each receives editorial consideration, although only a selection can be published and none individually acknowledged.

viewpoint

(Continued from p. 40)

could probably benefit more from libertarian analysis than the readers of REASON. Plenty of aspiring dictators have written for the *New York Times*, yet that does not keep me out of their pages.

I am haunted by the way Winston Churchill (not one of my favorites) lost the election after World War II. All of the socialists pooled their efforts behind the Labor Party, and the anti-socialist camp splintered into numerous factions based on personalities, religion, and assorted trivia.

We don't need to dissipate limited readership and funds among a lot of new journals; we need to strengthen those that have passed the test of market survival. We don't need to make a religion of either Chicago or Austrian economics, nor of Objectivism or anarchism. We don't need to deceive the Left, nor censor the Right. We only need to maximize individual choice and minimize collective coercion with the very best intellectual ammunition we can and must gather from a variety of sources.

There is one journal that has passed these tests against amazing odds, and you should consider yourself fortunate to be reading it. ◻

taxes

(Continued from p. 41)

decreased the value of any of your property, you may have a casualty or theft loss.

Finally there is a "Miscellaneous Deductions" area which is the catch-all for the Schedule A. Here you'll want to put deductions such as union dues, business expenses (if you're an employee rather than self-employed), tax records expenses, tax preparations expenses, depreciation on any tools or equipment you use as an employee, etc. If you're creative here, you can often pick up several very good deductions.

Then at the bottom right of the Schedule A you'll tally up all the deductions from the entire form. If you haven't been able to exceed the standard deduction amounts we talked about above, you'll discard the Schedule A—it will pay you better to simply use the standard deduction. On the other hand, if you find you *have* exceeded the amount for your filing status, then you'll continue with the instructions at the bottom.

This year the IRS is calling the result of a good Schedule A "excess itemized deductions." All that means is they're trying to make you feel guilty for beating the standard deduction... and saving more taxes. Don't worry about it. After all, like the old capitalist that said he'd never really *seen* an "excess profit," I've never seen an "excess deduction." ◻

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classifieds

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COLLECTOR'S ITEM: *Playboy* magazine March 1964 containing Ayn Rand's interview. $15.00 postpaid. Kovacs Book Store, 2169 Lee Road, Cleveland, OH 44118.

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FINANCIAL

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PERSONALS

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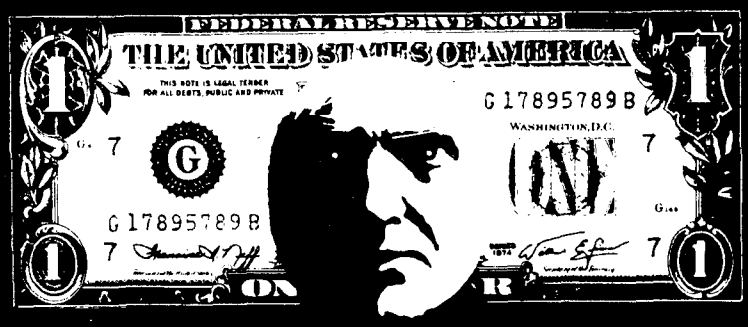

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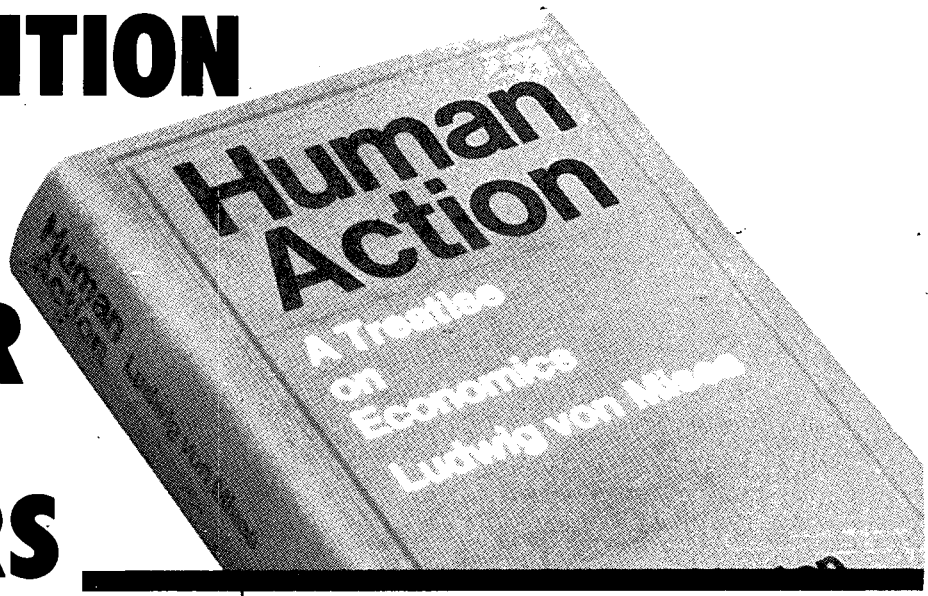

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